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V5, pt. 2.

Historical Character Study

BY

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VOLUME V

SAN FRANCISCO

THE HISTORY COMPANY, PUBLISHERS

1891

189

malaria, that swept off the imported laborers by thousands. The world will never know how great was the sacrifice of human life which gave it the Panamá railroad. Native labor could not be depended upon, and the resources of the country were inadequate. Delay occasioned expense, and cost accumulated upon cost until the railroad company was well nigh driven to the wall. But with the help of the government in large mail contracts, it fought its way through the obstacles opposed to it, completing in January 1855 the work inaugurated in January 1850, this success being largely due to the ability of the superintendent, George M. Totten. Instead of one or two, the cost of the road was eight million dollars, over one million of which was earned by the road as it advanced after 1851. Over this highway for many years, or until the British steamship trade by the straits of Magellan was developed, and the first transcontinental railroad in the United States was completed, passed far the greater part of the merchandise going to or from Europe, the United States, and other countries. With the increased facilities for interoceanic transit, it has still a net income of between two and three millions annually. It was sold to the Panamá Canal company in 1881 for \$17,500,000. In 1848, when the first mail steamship for the coast was building in New York, the first cargo of English and French goods that ever crossed the Isthmus was delivered at Chagres from the Royal Mail steamer *Fay*, and crossed in wheeled vehicles, brought for that purpose, to Panamá, where it was reshipped to Chili and Peru. The Royal Mail in 1850 became a branch of the Pacific Mail, having contracted to forward treasure to the bank of England delivered to it by the latter at the Isthmus; such unexpected turns were given to commerce by the Americanization of California.

In the mean time Panamá was not the sole region of interest as regarded inter-oceanic transit. In

1842 the Mexican government under Santa Anna had granted to José de Garay a right of way across the isthmus of Tehuantepec, empowering him to open steam communication between the oceans, and pledging itself to maintain him or his successors in their right to a strip of land from sea to sea. But revolution following revolution, Garay sold his right in 1846-7 to Manning and Mackintosh, English subjects residing in Mexico, and the transfer was recognized by the Mexican government. When negotiating the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, President Polk offered Mexico \$15,000,000 for a right of way across the isthmus of Tehuantepec; but this was refused on the ground of a prior claim. Nevertheless, when P. A. Hargoies, an American, had purchased the grant of Manning and Mackintosh and was surveying it in 1851, the Mexican congress declared void the decree under which an extension of time had been granted to Garay, which thus revoked his rights; and to the remonstrance of the United States government they replied merely that it was "a matter of Mexican law." In 1853, however, A. G. Sloo was permitted to form a company in Mexico to construct a plank road across Tehuantepec, and the Mexican government proposed to the United States to enter into treaty obligations to protect this highway, such as had been agreed to in New Granada, but our government thought this quite another matter, and so nothing came of Sloo's project.

However, in March 1855, the Gadsden treaty having given a right of way to the United States, the postoffice department established a mail route from New Orleans to San Francisco, via the isthmus of Tehuantepec, and advertised for bids, none of which were received. In December 1857 this route was again advertised, and one proposal was received and declined; but in June 1858 a contract was finally made with the Louisiana Tehuantepec company, which agreed for \$250,000 to transport the mails to San

Francisco and back twice a month, the route being via Minatitlan, Suchil, Ventosa, and Acapulco, to be conveyed in ocean and river steamers and coaches or covered wagons, the service to commence in October 1858, and to expire in September 1869, at the same time that the Pacific Mail and United States mail contracts were to expire. The time to be occupied in the transit to Acapulco was fifteen days. At this port mails were to be exchanged with the Pacific Mail, whereby, if close connections should be made, six days might be saved between San Francisco and New Orleans, and one between San Francisco and New York; or by use of the telegraph from New Orleans, six days. This contract was to test the practicability of the Tehuantepec route.

The land portion of the transit across Tehuantepec consisted of 100 miles of a badly graded mountain road, unfit for travel and over which the lighter portion of the mails only could be carried. That the public had little confidence in it was evident from the fact that only \$5,276.68 postage money was received from mail matter sent over it. This was a clear loss to the department of \$244,723.32 for the experiment, and this point as a mail route was abandoned in 1859. It was not, however, abandoned as a route of travel, being several times resorted to for a season by competing companies.

Another transit across Mexican territory was proposed as early as 1850. Foreseeing that the government would ever be seeking the shortest and most expeditious routes for the mails, Albert C. Ramsey of Mexico and Edward H. McCormick of Pennsylvania, with their associates, submitted proposals to the postal department for carrying the mails between New York, New Orleans, Vera Cruz, and San Francisco, which were not regarded at that time. Ramsey, several years previous, had obtained a grant from the Mexican government, permitting him to transport passengers and mail through that country for a term

of fifteen years, and in January 1851 actually caused to be conveyed to Vera Cruz eighty-six passengers in the steamship *Alabama*, the first steamer of the Mexican Ocean Mail and Inland company, Robert G. Rankin president, and of which he was a member. Among them were officers and engineers of a railroad which he contemplated constructing between the two oceans.

In 1852 congress passed an act proposing to give any company the option of accepting \$100,000 a year for five years to transport the mails three times a month to Vera Cruz via Tampico, in steam vessels of not less than 800 tons and of the best construction. This offer appears to have been accepted by the Mexican Ocean Mail and Inland company, which, confident of success in securing the whole route to the Pacific, despatched agents to Mexico to improve or open roads; while coaches, harness, mules, and horses were purchased, and a portion of them sent out in advance of any further negotiations, as a means of inducing the postmaster-general to accede to their plans, which he did to the extent of entering into a contract in March 1853, conditioned upon the action of congress in making the appropriation of \$424,000 to be paid annually, the company to continue their tri-monthly trips to Vera Cruz, and to extend two of them to San Francisco, the mails to be put aboard the Pacific company's steamers at Acapulco. Sureties for the performance of their contract were given by Silas C. Herring, Elisher Townsend, Simeon Draper, Robert B. Coleman, Charles Morgan, Edwin Bartlett, and William H. Aspinwall.

At the time the contract was made, which covenanted to convey the mails in sixteen days each way, the Pacific Mail company was running steamers weekly to Panamá; but very soon afterward it withdrew the intermediate lines, whether intentionally or not, and it became impossible for the Mexican Mail to keep its contract without first placing steamers of its

own on the Pacific side, or inducing the postmaster-general to change the schedule time on the Vera Cruz route. The first they were not able to do, the last the postmaster-general refused to consider, and this line of transit was abandoned, with loss to its projectors. In all these undertakings the people of the Pacific coast were vitally interested, the matter of celerity in the conveyance of mail and freight being of the highest consequence.

The third competing route between the two oceans was via the isthmian state of Nicaragua. This route had been surveyed for a canal in 1837-8 by the Nicaraguan government, but the estimated cost of \$30,000,000 had deterred the state from attempting its construction.

In 1849 an arrangement was entered into between the Nicaraguan authorities and the American Atlantic and Pacific Ship Canal company, of which Cornelius Vanderbilt, Joseph L. White, and Nathaniel H. Wolfe were the principal stockholders, for a right of way through that country. Another company was formed under the name of the American Accessory Transit company of New York, of which Vanderbilt and associates were the principals, which provided for the transit of this Isthmus, in steamboats and carriages, via the river San Juan de Nicaragua, a distance of ninety miles, across the Nicaragua lake forty miles, and by land carriage twelve miles to the Pacific at San Juan del Sur.

This company made a proposition to the United States government, in March 1851, for the transportation of the mails between New York and San Francisco, the service to be performed in six steamships of the first class, for \$30,000 each annually, a single trip to occupy twenty-five days at the longest. No aid was asked from the government in advance, as in the case of the Pacific Mail and United States Mail companies, but the ships were placed at the disposal of the government in the event of war. The secretary

of the navy, however, declined the proposal of Vanderbilt, arrangements having been already completed for extending the mail service via Panamá, at a high cost. This rejection of his offer did not deter the Vanderbilt company from establishing the Independent line, which in the summer of 1851 placed its first vessel, the *Pacific*, on this side of the continent, in connection with the *Prometheus* on the Atlantic side. A sharp competition for passenger and freight business followed between the Vanderbilt and Aspinwall lines, the former having a fair share of the trade.

Vanderbilt's enterprise in Nicaragua was not an original idea, any more than Aspinwall's had been in New Granada. A franchise had been granted in 1823 to persons in London to construct a canal across the Nicaraguan isthmus, who failed to carry out their proposed undertaking. Another company in New York secured similar privileges, and also failed, after which various schemes were broached to the Nicaraguan government, and, like their predecessors, disappointed the consenting powers. In 1829 the king of Holland had in view the construction of a canal across Nicaragua, but was prevented from carrying out his design by the loss of Belgium.

In 1837 President Marazan inaugurated an inter-oceanic canal at this point, which was interrupted by revolution, and ended with his government. Nicaragua afterward undertook to continue the work, without result. These efforts were followed by others in Europe from 1839 to 1842. Meanwhile John Bailey, for the London parties first mentioned, completed a survey, which was published in 1843, and in 1846 Louis Napoleon became interested in the project of a Nicaraguan canal, but was diverted from it by more personal affairs and the jealousy of Great Britain. Another route than Bailey's was projected in 1847-8 by Orsted, who selected the narrowest neck of land between Nicaragua and Salinas bay. All these manifold projects came to nothing, and an American ship-

builder was the first to open communication across this isthmus, although not by means of a canal. Time was too precious in the fifties to wait for canal-making. A railroad would then have been better for all purposes, but the progress of the Panamá railway was not encouraging. A number of canal projects have been considered since Vanderbilt formed his Accessory Transit company, one of which is in progress at present. The successful completion of any canal will lead in time to a competing canal or ship railway in some other part of Central America.

From the foregoing some approximate idea of the amount of capital invested and material consumed, with the profits realized, in naval transportation during all that period when the people, their supplies, furniture, implements of industry, and even their houses, were transported by sea from New York and New Orleans to San Francisco. In 1853 the imports to California were valued at \$35,000,000, so rapidly moved events in those remarkable times. It was a period of great waste and reckless extravagance, and one of the most striking proofs of the resources of the country is contained in the fact that it grew richer, notwithstanding the tremendous amount of capital sunk in fruitless undertakings.

Among the fruitless undertakings, however, Mr Vanderbilt's cannot be reckoned. His Nicaraguan route enjoyed sufficient popularity to make it a formidable competitor of the Pacific Mail, a desideratum with the government, which paid a price far too high for mail transportation, as well as with Californians, who were taxed enormously for any transportation services. The government was placed in a dilemma, neither horn of which it much desired to grasp; for extortionate as was the price asked for its services by the Pacific Mail and its auxiliaries, it feared to end its existing contract and make a new one with the rival company, lest competition should thereby be driven off and a new monopoly created more oppressive than

the old one. Under an advertisement which was issued to obtain information in March 1853, the Nicaragua company offered to carry a semi-monthly mail between New York and California for a sum not exceeding \$300,000, or a weekly mail, which was demanded, for \$600,000—the amount being then paid for a semi-monthly service amounting to \$757,977, including \$119,000 paid annually to the Panamá railroad company. In August 1853 a petition was sent from San Francisco, numerously signed, asking for the establishment of a mail line to the Atlantic states via Nicaragua, which the government declined to accede to, the Pacific Mail contract having six years to run, and being so expensive as to preclude the establishment of another.

Meantime the Nicaragua route was coming into an unlooked for notoriety through the armed intervention of citizens of the United States in the affairs of that revolutionary country, as well as through its own unique features. The carriages for the land portion of the transit built in 1854 had elliptic springs, seats arranged lengthwise, stationary tops, and sun and water proof curtains. The seats were cushioned with stuffed backs, and each carriage accommodated eight or nine passengers, with twenty inches of space between them. They were provided with good brakes and drawn by four mules each. The carriages were painted white, with light blue stripes, the Nicaraguan colors, mingled with the stripes of the American flag. The panels were ornamented by emblematic paintings of scenes in California and Nicaragua. Imagine a procession of twenty-five of these highly decorated vehicles, followed by another procession of baggage-wagons! New and large steamers were being introduced on the river and lake, which had comfortable staterooms, showing a determination to leave nothing undone to make the route a popular one.

But it is not always the thing we have in contemplation which prevails. The United States by its

treaties with Mexico and New Granada had secured the right of way across both of those republics, and was endeavoring, still unsuccessfully, to obtain a right of transit of the northern extremity of the isthmus of Tehuantepec at the time that the route through the state of Nicaragua was being put into operation by private enterprise, under a grant to the Accessory Transit company, or the men who composed it.

At this point in the history of that country occurred two important and auspicious events, both tending to the destruction of that neutrality in the isthmian states which it was believed had been secured by the convention of April 19, 1850, between Great Britain and the United States, by virtue of which it was intended to be established. One was the persistence in invasion by a British expedition of the state of Nicaragua, upon the pretense of exercising a protectorship over a small band of Indians so obscure as to have no tribal name, and who could not by any possibility constitute a state in need of intervention, who had their habitat at or near San Juan del Norte, which port was the necessary terminus of any canal or railway across this isthmus within this state. The other and similar infraction of neutrality was the filibustering expedition of William Walker, who, under the pretext of going to the assistance of the republican party in a domestic revolution against the aristocratic party in Nicaragua, was really carrying on a war of conquest. As early as 1853 Walker had his recruiting agents in California, and one Henry P. Watkins was prosecuted and convicted of violation of the neutrality laws of 1818 for enlisting men within the United States to serve in a foreign country. A confederate, Frederick Emons, pleaded guilty to the same offense. In 1854, Walker being then in Lower California, the French and Mexican consuls at San Francisco were engaged in the secret enlistment of troops for Mexico, and the French consul was tried for the offense in San Francisco, the jury disagreeing.

After these first exhibitions of the majesty of the law, the authorities became lax, making no arrests and no attempts to intercept the embarkation for Mexico of men suspected of a design to join the invaders, either in California, New Orleans, or New York, the filibustering movement being carried on under the cloak of colonization schemes. In 1855 Walker received a grant of 55,000 acres for settlement in Central America, while followers continued to flock to him by the steamers of the Vanderbilt lines on either side of the continent, until the Nicaraguan republicans began to suspect that their seeming ally was really their master, and the legitimists to entertain a feeling of suspicion toward the Accessory Transit company as accessory to the attempted conquest.

A controversy arose in 1855, which was forced by the Nicaraguan legitimist party, concerning the condition of accounts between the company and the government. Before the commissioners appointed to settle the dispute had proceeded to business, Walker had set up his government, and in January 1856 was allowed to take, by connivance of the agent of the Transit company, \$20,000 in specie from one of its boats *in transitu*, to aid him in his filibustering. The attention of the company in New York being called to the subject, a resolution was passed to carry "no more men whose fare was not prepaid." In February following, the Rivas-Walker government made a decree revoking and annulling the charter and acts of incorporation of the Accessory Transit company, and directing all the company's property of that place, valued at from \$700,000 to \$1,000,000, to be seized. It consisted of the steamers *San Carlos*, *La Virgin*, *Central America*, *J. Ogden*, *C. Morgan*, *J. L. White*, *H. L. Bolware*, *Colonel Wheeler*, *J. N. Scott*, *E. L. Hunt*, *H. L. Routh*, and two others incomplete, besides a railroad track, twenty-nine launches, lighters, yawls, and rowboats, with wharves, office and warehouse buildings, shops, machinery, and other material.

This was the valuable property which the Nicaraguans were willing to sacrifice in order to rid themselves of the accursed invaders, and Walker being linked with the revolutionary party, was compelled to use force in his military movements, thereby increasing the hostility that was cherished by the native population toward the transit company.

The imbroglio ended in the massacre, by the army of the Costa Ricans, April 7, 1856, of nine inoffensive passengers of the transit company, the wounding of many more, and the robbery of all, with other outrages, and the burning of the company's wharf at Virgin bay on the lake, where the slaughter took place. Nor was this the first offence against international peace, the government having found it necessary to order the *Potomac*, flagship of the navy, to visit San Juan de Nicaragua in November previous on account of the murder of passengers. This vessel had subsequently been withdrawn. But there was the British sloop-of-war *Eurydice*, Captain Tarleton, lying in the harbor when the *Orizaba*, Captain Edward L. Tinklepaugh, arrived at San Juan, on the 16th of April 1856, and began to transfer passengers to the *Wheeler*, a river steamer. After most of them had delivered up their tickets, and been transferred, the agent of the transit company, Joseph N. Scott, was notified by the commander of the *Eurydice* that the passengers would not be permitted to proceed on their way, but must return on board the *Orizaba*. The excuse rendered to Captain Tinklepaugh for the action of the British captain was that he had been told that the *Orizaba* had brought out five hundred men for Walker; and when remonstrated with, Captain Tarleton went on board the *Orizaba* and examined the waybill, when, having satisfied himself of the incorrectness of the information, he consented to allow the passengers to depart for California. On his arrival in New York Tinklepaugh entered a protest against the insult to the American flag in the assumption of

the right of search by a British commander, which matter was left to be presented by a United States commissioner to the government to be settled.

By these events, all owing to Walker's filibustering, communication by the Accessory Transit route was interrupted. In August he confiscated all the property of the company, making a grant to Edmund Randolph and others of San Francisco of certain rights which were purchased of Randolph for \$400,000 by C. K. Garrison and Charles Morgan, former agents of the company, who attempted to procure the dissolution of the charter of the transit company, and to have a receiver appointed. But the supreme court of New York refused to recognize the right of the president of Nicaragua to do a judicial act, or forfeit a charter not forfeited by any fault of its owner. Garrison and Morgan, who held liens upon the company's property, attempted to reorganize the route, while Walker, receiving several hundred recruits, fought a number of battles with success against the legitimists and Costa Ricans. The republicans were, however, becoming more and more weary of war, and were anxious to destroy the transit company as one means of getting rid of Walker and the American army under him, while Walker himself was exhausting his means as well as that of the enemy, and his army, ill-fed, badly clothed, and dying off by disease, was being as rapidly depleted as recruited. In December he seized for his use two hundred mules belonging to the transit company, which, under the Garrison management, was again in operation, leaving transportation for no more than fifty passengers over the land part of the route, and compelling the greater portion of them to walk from the lake to the sea. Many lost their baggage, many died of cholera, and the end of the transit company was not far off. The agents of Vanderbilt and of Morgan and Garrison were at Greytown disputing possession of the property with the Nicaraguan authorities, while Vander-

bilt was said to be furnishing money to the Costa Rican government, which was also aided by the British naval authorities. Every effort was being made to keep open the route, when Walker experienced a severe repulse and loss. The Costa Ricans took Greytown, and the ships of the American, Atlantic, and Pacific Ship Canal company were compelled to carry their passengers to Aspinwall, while the vessels of the company on the Pacific side were sent to meet them at Panamá. Even this did not entirely end the usefulness of the Nicaraguan route, and steamships soon resumed their connection with it. The winter of 1856-7 was spent by Walker at Rivas, on the west side, while Mora, the Costa Rican general, remained at Greytown, and in possession of the lake steamers.

In January the supreme court of New York, upon certain representations, appointed a receiver of the property of the Nicaragua Transit company, ordering sold the steamships *Prometheus*, *Northern Light*, *Star of the West*, and *Daniel Webster* belonging to the company, and allowing Vanderbilt to bid at the sale to the extent of his liens on the vessels, the remainder to be deposited with the court. But so far as the transit across this isthmus was concerned, it was first in the hands of one party and then in possession of the other, a steamer being now and then captured, and used for the conveyance of troops from point to point. In April a battalion, under Colonel Lockridge, of Texas, having taken possession of the steamers *Rescue* and *J. M. Scott* for the purpose of attacking the Costa Rican forces, the *Scott* exploded her boiler at a landing, killing thirteen officers and men, severely wounding eleven, and injuring eighteen. The survivors, to the number of 374, made their way to Greytown, where, not being received on board the *Tennessee* about to depart, and being without means, they seized the *Rescue*, with the arms on board, and offered them in pledge to the mayor of Greytown as security for their

subsistence. They were subsequently received on board the British men-of-war *Cossack* and *Tartar* on promising obedience to rules; but, finally, on application of the British commander, the agent of the transit company consented to send a portion of the men to New York at the expense of Morgan & Co., or if his draft should not be honored, at the cost of the British officers, who besides, carried the remainder of the companies to a United States port. Thus was lessened by an accident the army of invasion; and although Walker still fought three engagements, the ravages of disease and frequent desertions reduced his force to 200 men, and in May he capitulated by the intervention of Commander Paulding, of the United States flagship in the Pacific, the *St Mary's*, and was escorted to Greytown, where he took passage for New Orleans, resuming his revolutionary schemes the following year in Honduras, where he was taken and shot.

Soon after these events W. R. C. Webster on behalf of the Costa Rican and Nicaraguan governments, and C. K. Garrison on the part of Garrison and Morgan, entered into negotiations with Lord Napier and the United States government for a settlement of the Central American question. No definite arrangement was for some time entered into; but in 1858, President Buchanan having expressed his disapproval of filibustering, a treaty was concluded between the United States and Nicaragua by which the former became entitled to the right of transit across the latter state "on any route of communication, natural or artificial, whether by land or water, which may now or hereafter exist, or be constructed under the authority of Nicaragua, to be used and enjoyed in the same manner and upon equal terms by both republics, and their respective citizens; the republic of Nicaragua, however, reserving its right of sovereignty over the same." The United States also agreed to protect and preserve the neutrality of the

route, and Nicaragua promised to maintain a free port at either end; and when occasion required to keep open the route by force of arms, or permit the United States to do so. The right to transport closed mails across the country at any point was also granted. These concessions did not come altogether cheerfully from the Nicaraguan republic, the president refusing to sign the Cass-Yrissari treaty, after having pledged himself to Lamar to do so, compelling Cass to write a caustic letter, and the government to send a naval force to each side of the country.

The Nicaraguan government meanwhile revoked the charter of the transit company, but subsequently granted a new concession to Cornelius Vanderbilt, Horace F. Clark, and their associates, giving them as a perpetual company the exclusive right of conveying passengers across the country by San Juan river and Lake Nicaragua. For this monopoly of the transit route Vanderbilt loaned to the impecunious Nicaraguan government a sum in specie said not to exceed \$100,000, for which he received interest at seven per cent per annum, the negotiations being conducted by W. R. C. Webster. In this simple manner was foiled the intention, if such existed, of Louis Napoleon to take military possession of the country, and the Monroe doctrine sustained.

But while Americans had possession of the isthmus transit the people in the United States were not benefited. Walker's filibustering had deprived them of the opposition necessary to reduce the exorbitant fares and freights collected from them by the Pacific Mail company. Walker being disposed of, they had still to confront a greater than he, which was the selfishness of capital. For some time after the interruption of traffic across Nicaragua the vessels of the company carried their passengers and cargoes to Panamá, and several of their ships were brought round to the Pacific coast to carry on their trade on this side of the continent, but they ceased in

1857 to make their usual voyages, leaving the ocean transportation between New York and San Francisco entirely to the Pacific Mail.

In May 1857 a company was organized, under the name of California and New York Steamship company, and commonly known as the People's line, with a capital of \$1,000,000, divided into 4,000 shares of \$250 each. Stock was immediately taken to the amount of \$300,000, and the prospect seemed bright for a successful opposition. It was designed to construct steamships of a large size and great speed, and to do away with the steerage by selling only first and second class tickets, and to fix the rate of passage at an average of \$100. The president of this company was Marshall O. Roberts, the vice-president being N. O. Arrington, and the directors Jules David, M. S. Martin, Frederick Franks, Eugene Delessert, R. Kellersberger, W. Hanley, Leland Stanford, W. J. Balley, R. W. Heath, G. Touchard, E. L. Sullivan, Lafayette Maynard, E. S. Holden, and James Ludlow, secretary. But after advertising a few times no more was heard of it.

In March 1858 Garrison & Co., who had the agency of the Nicaraguan route, advertised to run their vessels to Panamá until the transit route was reopened, and did perform one trip and advertise a second, when the opposition was withdrawn, five days before the date of sailing. The rates of passage, which had been put down to \$50, \$100, and \$150, according to class, were at once raised to \$125, \$200, and \$250 for the same accommodations. Many persons who had gathered in from the interior expecting to take passage were disappointed, and public meetings were called to discuss the situation of affairs, with no other result than to yield, as yield they must, to the company's demands. Soon after it was rumored and published in the New York newspapers that Vanderbilt had accepted a subsidy of \$56,000 a month from the Pacific Mail to withdraw his steamers.

This proceeding was a heavy blow at the prosperity of California, from whose population chiefly was drawn the coin which enabled the Pacific Mail to buy off its competitors. As for steamship owners, they found business along the coast, the different mining excitements furnishing employment. A San Francisco journal made a statement in June 1858 that the passage money paid out in the spring of that year in getting to Fraser's river in British Columbia amounted to \$270,810, and inquired the length of time it would take the miners to earn that amount of money besides their other expenses.

Still another opposition scheme was broached in July 1858 by an organization calling itself the People's California Steamship company, composed of a number of capitalists in California and the east. The capital stock of this company was placed at \$1,500,000, divided into 15,000 shares, at \$100 each, which proposed to construct or purchase eight first-class screw steamships of 1,600 tons register, capable of carrying 750 passengers each, with freight, or 1,200 without. It was expected to charge \$175 for a first-class passage, and \$75 for second-class, which, with freight and treasure, without express matter or mails, was calculated to produce a total income of nearly \$2,000,000 by running six steamers only. The expenses were estimated to amount to \$1,317,780. Among the projectors of this line were W. T. Coleman and D. O. Mills, either of whose names was a guaranty of good faith.

Meanwhile Vanderbilt, who was inspired by the ambition to break down the Tehuantepec company, which was making a strenuous effort to open that route, was slowly building up the transit of Nicaragua by providing lake boats, and promised to have the whole line open by September 1858. It was not, however, opened that year, but in January 1859 the company commenced running steamships to Panamá in opposition to the Pacific Mail, the *Orizaba*, *Cortés*,

Uncle Sam, and *Sierra Nevada* being brought to the Pacific side, while the *Star of the West*, *Northern Light*, and *Ariel* performed the service on the Atlantic side.

It transpired soon after that Vanderbilt had become a controlling power in the United States Mail company, which news was received in California as unfavorable. Indeed, serious charges were in turn brought against all the steamship companies. It was said that agents were in collusion with ticket swindlers in New York, who had their offices in the immediate vicinity of the office of the company, and who were allowed to use the company's posters. The unwary were induced to purchase tickets at these places, and were sold steerage for cabin accommodations at cabin prices, or, if ignorant enough to be altogether deceived, were sold utterly worthless tickets, which were rejected at the steamer. Even the company frequently disposed of many more cabin passages than they were warranted in doing, and the unfortunate passengers, after having paid for comfortable service, being compelled to sleep on tables or on the floors, and for eight or ten days to endure the wretchedness of homelessness, and perhaps of illness, without a place to lay their heads or proper food to eat. It was the boast of the Californians that such outrages were not perpetrated by the Pacific Mail company, and when the miserable victims of the other systems were groaning out their troubles, they were consoled with the assurance that "it will not be so on the other side," as if crossing the isthmus was to bring them into an atmosphere of greater honesty as well as magnificence; where, indeed, the ships were well officered and commodious, and the sea more pacific than on the Atlantic coast. But wrong was perpetrated as well here as there, for the ships on this side took all they could carry, knowing there were not accommodations on the Atlantic side of the Isthmus.

The effect of the Walker-Vanderbilt policy in Nica-

ragua in 1856 was to stir up a feeling of hostility throughout Central America toward citizens of the United States, which showed itself on the 15th of April of that year in an attack upon the passengers of the steamers *Illinois* and *Philadelphia* from New York and New Orleans, and the *Cortés* of the Nicaraguan line, in transitu at Panamá, in which affair fifteen Americans were killed and fifty wounded, with a total destruction, after plundering, of their baggage at the railroad station and hotels. The ostensible reason at the time was a quarrel between a passenger and a fruit-seller; but from the fact that a concerted action was apparent, and that the police joined in the attack upon the company's freight buildings, which contained over a thousand unarmed men, women, and children, it was evident there existed a previous grievance which the massacre was designed to avenge.

For four days, from the 15th to the 19th, the suffering people were huddled in the company's offices waiting for the appearance of the *Golden Age*, which was to arrive with passengers from San Francisco. By the exertions of the United States consul, Thomas W. Ward, A. J. Center, the superintendent of the Panamá railroad, A. McLane, agent of the Pacific Mail, G. M. Totten, chief engineer, and W. Nelson, further mischief was averted, and the passengers permitted to proceed upon their voyage in the *Golden Age*, while the California travellers were hurried by the railroad company to Aspinwall, and embarked for New York. The property destroyed was valued at half a million dollars, which would have been much more but for the prompt action of a railroad conductor named Williams, who, knowing that the express train from Aspinwall was due, ran out on the road to meet it. At the bridge over the Cruces there were 150 natives collected to intercept this train, who stopped and robbed Williams, being prevented from shooting him by the interposition of some acquaintances from Panamá. Regarding him as a fugitive

only, he was allowed to proceed, after being compelled to instruct them how to take a rail out of the track in order to derail the express. Hastening forward he signalled and stopped the train, which returned to Aspinwall with him on board, thus putting the company on their guard at this end of the road.

It was plainly shown that the authorities of New Granada participated in these outrages, and the only excuse which they ever offered was that there was some misunderstanding or disagreement between the government of that state and the railroad officers concerning dues. But as this was an explanation entirely inadequate to the offence, it is but reasonable to believe that sympathy with Nicaragua and hatred of the Yankees, crying to each other, "Vamos a matar Yankees!" as soon as the riot began. Like the Nicaraguans, they would have been glad to have destroyed the transit through their territory which had brought them in contact with a race which they feared were destined to become their masters. As to the motives which were back of the Walker invasion, which led Vanderbilt to aid and abet it, or a California senator to stand its friend and almoner when appropriations were being made by congress, these belong to a different class of subjects. The effect was to deprive California of competing lines of transportation, subjecting the state to a condition of vassalage toward a powerful company or combination of companies, deterring immigration, and retarding the development of the country.

Let us now return to the commercial history of the original line. During the ten years from 1849 to 1859, while the Pacific Mail Steamship company enjoyed the government subsidy under the form of a mail contract at exorbitant rates, its career, notwithstanding the various competing routes and lines, was one of uninterrupted prosperity, during which time it received, over and above its returns from the trans-

portation of passengers and freights to and from California, nearly half a million dollars annually, or its proportion of about a million, which was paid on the contracts of 1849 and 1851, and some special contracts of different dates.

Some idea of the cost of establishing and maintaining the original steamship line between New York and San Francisco may be gathered from the statement of the president of the United States company on the Atlantic side to the postmaster-general in 1857 of the original cost of the steamships employed in the mail service on the eastern end of the route.

<i>Ohio</i>	\$ 450,000	<i>Empire City</i>	\$ 225,000
<i>Georgia</i>	475,000	<i>Crescent City</i>	175,000
<i>Illinois</i>	475,000	<i>Cherokee</i>	150,000
<i>Central America</i> ..	300,000	<i>Philadelphia</i>	175,000
<i>Moses Taylor</i>	250,000	<i>United States</i>	120,000
<i>Falcon</i>	150,000	<i>Star of the West</i> ..	150,000
	\$2,100,000		\$ 995,000
			2,100,000
			\$3,095,000

Out of this number of vessels three, of the value of \$625,000, had been lost; four, of the value of \$1,195,000, were sold at a loss by deterioration of \$976,000; the remaining vessels were estimated as having a value at that time of \$750,000—which estimates exhibited a loss upon the original investment of \$2,126,000. But even at that rate of loss, it will be seen that the company must have received from the government in ten years enough to pay the first cost of its vessels, and its losses besides; hence it had to bear only the cost of running its vessels out of the income from its enormous and richly paying business. President Marshall O. Roberts further stated that only \$400,000 had been paid in dividends in the eight years during which the company had then been in the actual business of transportation, which dividends reduced the losses to \$1,945,000, the inference being

that out of the large receipts for mail pay and passenger and freight traffic there was no profit, but on the contrary the loss of interest on the capital invested, if not of the capital itself. But this, I think, must be regarded as special pleading, there being a memorial then before congress asking for pay for extra service.

In the report of the president of the Pacific Mail company in June 1858, it was stated that this company had various assets, to the value of \$509,480.90; thirteen vessels, valued at \$2,020,471.70; a reserve fund of \$299,606.93; coal on hand valued at \$307,075; outfits and supplies worth \$114,600.25; shares in the company's stock in trust for property sold held at \$171,300; storeships, launches, etc., worth \$62,667; machinery and tools valued at \$121,700; real estate at Panamá, San Francisco, and St Helen, Oregon, valued at \$408,418.65; cash in the hands of agents to the amount of \$59,049.47; a claim of \$44,775 on the government for the transportation of troops; and a surplus of \$423,246 with which to make a dividend; or in all, between four and five millions, which was a reduction, according to the *New York Tribune*, of \$800,000 in the valuation of its vessels, and \$200,000 in the value of its real estate, or of \$1,000,000 from the estimate of the previous year. Corporations have ways of contraction and expansion which are not intelligible to ordinary spectators of their movements, nor are they probably meant to be.

The establishment of a transcontinental mail service by the Butterfield route in 1857 had given assurance of the practicability of such a mail carriage, so far as letters were concerned, and Californians were now clamoring for a daily mail; but as none had been provided when the steamship contract expired, Vanderbilt obtained a nine months' contract to carry the mails by steamship for a compensation below one half that which the original companies had received for the service. But what he failed to receive from the government he made up in passenger traffic.

Overcrowded steamers, fraudulent sales of tickets, abuses of every description, were the order of the day in the early traffic with California. Never were corporations oftener anathematized, or more devoutly cursed. The government had been assured that the mails should be carried via the Nicaragua route, to save the extortionate charge of the Panamá Railroad company, which exacted \$100,000 a year for the transportation of the mails across the Isthmus; and passengers were assessed \$25 each for the same service. The attempts toward opening the Nicaragua route raised many hopes destined never to be realized.

But with regard to the status of the Pacific Mail company at this time, it likewise suffered through the stronger influence of the rival which had superseded it in its relations with the government. Following the new steamship mail contract a company was formed, called the Atlantic and Pacific Steamship company, of which Vanderbilt was the president, and John T. Wright and William S. Freeman agents on the Pacific side. The steamers owned by this company on this coast were the *Cortés*, *Orizaba*, *Uncle Sam*, *Sierra Nevada*, and *Champion*, a new iron steamer of superior construction. On the Atlantic side it owned the *Northern Light*, *North Star*, *Ariel*, and *Moses Taylor*, running to Panamá, and the *Daniel Webster*, *Empire City*, and *New Granada*, running to New Orleans. Among the directors were Charles Morgan, Moses Taylor, and Marshall O. Roberts, while D. B. Allen was agent at New York and secretary of the company. C. K. Garrison had some time previous sold his interest to Vanderbilt and retired from the connection.

This company, the successor in effect, of the United States Mail, was now in full swing on both oceans, carrying the mails and running in opposition to the old mail company. About the same time, as a defensive measure, there was formed on the Atlantic side

the North Atlantic Steamship company, in which the Pacific Mail company became interested to the extent of 4,000 shares, but which was soon drawn off the route to California under a new arrangement with the Atlantic and Pacific company. A contract was entered into for five years from February 17, 1860, in order "to secure harmonious running," as read the official report—by which the Pacific ocean was left to the Pacific Mail company, and the Atlantic service to Vanderbilt's line. The removal of opposition enabled both companies to restore former high rates and also to maintain them. But the means by which the Pacific Mail sought to retain its monopoly of the carrying trade on the Pacific was even more injurious than an opposition would have been; for it was compelled to increase its stock to 40,000 shares, or the limit of its charter, and to purchase from the Atlantic and Pacific company four steamships; namely, the *Cortés*, *Sierra Nevada*, *Uncle Sam*, and *Orizaba*, paying for them in shares of Pacific Mail, which gave Vanderbilt a footing in the company, and \$250,000 in monthly instalments of ten per cent on its future receipts under the contract. It paid, also, \$50,000 option for declining to purchase the *Champion*, which was sent around Cape Horn to New York. On the side of the Atlantic and Pacific, however, it paid to the Pacific Mail its proportion of the mail contract money until the expiration of that contract, or \$43,750, and also the mail pay of the Panamá Railroad company, whose contract at \$100 000 a year had only until the first of July to run. Under the new arrangement a tri-monthly line of steamers would make its departure from New York on the 1st, 11th, and 21st of each month, commencing in July 1860. The deterioration of steamers was announced to be an average of fifteen per cent per annum, and the company had now seventeen of these ships, on thirteen of which since the last annual report there had been a depreciation of nearly

\$300,000. The capital stock and the surplus was reported this year to be \$4,911,188.61.

All these matters were anxiously noted by Californians, who, however they might berate the Pacific Mail for its exactions, still greatly preferred its management to that of any rival line. It was, besides, a purely Californian institution, and had been conducted on something like business principles. It had done much while enriching itself to build up the state. It had been in some degree prompt and obliging, as a public servant should be, and altogether was something to name without great shame.

Quite different was the feeling entertained towards the new combination, the hostility to which was intensified by the trouble about mails which are spoken of elsewhere. In order to force the government into a fresh contract after the expiration of the nine months' service, Vanderbilt declined to carry the mails for the postages, while congress disposed of the question of a daily mail service overland, and in order to make an exhibition of his power which should compel concessions, refused to carry Wells, Fargo & Co's express, by which most business men sent their eastern letters, although the Panamá Railroad and Pacific Mail companies had indicated their willingness to carry the mails during the recess of congress, trusting to future legislation for the discharge of the debt.

Seeing that he could do no better, and that there was a limit to the endurance of the government no less than of the people, Vanderbilt finally consented to carry the letter mails for the postages, amounting to \$300,000 annually, and the printed matter, which was eight-tenths of the whole mail, for such sum as the president might recommend and congress grant; and under this contract, which was to last until March 4, 1861, the service was resumed.

Soon after the settlement of the mail question, rumors began to be current that an opposition was about to be started, whose route would be by way of

Tehuantepec, and a sharp decline in Pacific Mail stock took place in consequence, which was the more marked because the public press would have it that Vanderbilt was about to reopen the Tehuantepec route, certain significant movements pointing that way, and the Mexican government being apparently in the humor to permit the profitable traffic across its territory.

The public were both right and wrong. In April 1860 the old American Atlantic and Pacific Ship Canal company entered into a new convention with the Nicaraguan government, forming the stockholders into a new company under the name of the Central American Transit company, the capital not to exceed \$3,000,000, including the shares issued by the former company. The government of Nicaragua gave the new company the exclusive right of transit for fifty years, without restrictions as to the mode of transit, and the company were to be permitted to do local business in the interior on the same footing as natives, the route to be opened in six months after the ratification of the new grants, unless prevented by low water or the closing of the ports on either side, in which case the time should be extended to sixteen months. The property of the old company was purchased from the Nicaraguan authorities for \$35,000, to be paid in annual instalments of \$5,000, and the road from Virgin bay was leased to the company for \$3,000 a year, with the privilege of laying rails upon it. The company agreed to give the state \$200,000 of its stock, and to pay a transit tax of \$1.50 a head for each passenger transported across the country. Boats were constructed in the east for the river and lake; the road was put in good condition; a telegraph was constructed from Virgin bay to San Juan del Sur, and a railroad survey between these places completed.

On the 14th of July of the same year there was sent out the steamship *New Granada*, Captain Howes,

belonging to the recently formed Atlantic and Pacific company, of which Vanderbilt was the president, and which had intended to confine its operations to the Atlantic ocean. On the 26th of July the *Moses Taylor*, a vessel built in 1858 for the California and New York company, or People's line, to which reference has been made as one of the opposition schemes of that period, was also despatched to the Pacific. The *Granada* arrived off the heads at San Francisco bay on the 14th of October, but was beached and lost through the carelessness of the pilot. The *Moses Taylor*, John McGowan commander, arrived out on the 21st of October, and immediately advertised to run to Panamá as a steamer of the People's line, in opposition to the Pacific Mail, placing its fares at \$150, \$100, and \$75. But before the day came round which had been appointed for sailing, the opposition had been withdrawn, and those persons who had hoped to make a visit to their former home for a few hundred dollars found themselves disappointed.

Nobody understood why these things were so; it was all mystery and the people were bewildered. Those who did not think that Vanderbilt was endeavoring to force the Pacific Mail stock down in order to buy it in, explained the attempted opposition by saying that it was an effort of Roberts, who had a score against his former partner to wipe out because he had been left out of the combination of the isthmus steamship companies. But nothing more was heard for some time of either the Tehuantepec or Nicaragua routes.

Meantime the passenger traffic by the Panamá transit had fallen off greatly, the loss being charged by the San Francisco Solons to the management of the steamship companies, and figures were produced to show it. In the first quarter of 1860 there were 7,059 passengers arrived at Panamá en route to San Francisco. In the following three months there were 5,425, and in the third quarter only

2,592. Departures from California decreased in the same ratio, running down from 3,789 to 2,722 in the second quarter and about the same in the third. In other words immigration in excess of emigration had ceased because of the dread of the sea-passage, hard enough at the best upon many constitutions, but rendered insupportable by poor food and the lack of the ordinary decencies and necessary comforts of travel. Yet it was published in the east that the California steamship traffic was greatly augmented; and that the eastward-bound portion paid all expenses, and left the other part, and the mail pay, for profit, amounting together to \$2,160,000 per annum; and dividends of seven and a half per cent per quarter were talked of.

This report brought the Pacific Mail stock well up again in the market, in spite of California denunciation. It was, moreover, true that political troubles in the latter part of 1860 drove many persons from the south to California, by both land and sea routes; and, also, that the Oregon line, which was a branch of the Pacific Mail, was a profitable one. In the early months of 1861 the necessities of the government also gave employment to vessels of those companies on the Atlantic side in which the leading capitalists were interested, wherefore affairs proceeded satisfactorily for a time on both oceans.

The year 1860 was otherwise signalized by the increasing transportation by coast lines. In May was inaugurated the Mexican Coast Steamship company, Holladay and Flint principal owners. In September it suspended, but revived again in November, and was continued under a liberal agreement with the Mexican authorities thereafter. In 1861 this trade was estimated to be worth \$2,000,000 to San Francisco. The company purchased the deteriorated steamers of the Pacific Mail company for this traffic, and for the use of the California and Oregon Steamship company, of which Holladay and Flint were also the owners.

The *Oregon*, *Panamá*, *Cortés*, and *Columbia* were the boats used in these lines, which made regular trips to San Blas, Mazatlan, Guaymas, La Paz, and Cape St Lucas; to Eureka, Trinidad, and Crescent City; and to Portland and Victoria. The *Oregon* was commanded by Edgar Wakeman; the *Columbia*, by Francis Connor, the *Cortés* by Thomas Huntington; and the *Panamá* by R. H. Horner. A new steamer, the *John T. Wright*, named after its owner, and commanded by Robert Haley, commenced making regular trips to the California ports south of San Francisco in October 1860. The steamers employed at this period by the Pacific Mail on the Panamá route were the *Golden Age*, J. T. Watkins commander; *Sonora*, Captain F. R. Bailey; *St Louis*, Captain W. F. Lapidge; *Uncle Sam*, W. H. Hudson commander; *Golden Gate*, R. H. Pearson commander; with occasionally others of the same fleet. Of these, the *Golden Age* was the most commodious, but was surpassed by the *Constitution*, built about this time, and which was the largest of the Pacific Mail line until the China Mail was furnished with a better class of steamers.

Early in 1863 the New York and California company again threatened the Pacific Mail with an opposition via Nicaragua, and, in fact, three successive monthly voyages were performed, when the *Moses Taylor* was laid up at Benicia to be refitted. On one occasion when there were hundreds of people gathered in San Francisco preparing for the voyage advertised, the vessel was suddenly withdrawn. There were indignation meetings held, with street harangues, to express the revolt of the public against this playing fast and loose with their interests—as if a steamship company cared anything for their impotent wrath. And the people could not do what they wished—give up steamship travel. Every vessel out from New York now came loaded with from 500 to 800 and even 1,100 passengers, several hundred of whom had no comforts whatever. The decks which were needed for the

passage of air were piled up with baggage, and there were not boats enough in case of accident to carry a third of these people, or crew enough to handle them. The risks were terrifying; yet such were the necessities of the public that they were forced to take them.

In September 1863 the *Moses Taylor*, by this time known under the sobriquet of the Rolling Moses, was advertised to sail for Panamá, connecting with the *Illinois* at Aspinwall. This lasted until January 1864, when the *America*, William L. Merry commander, having been brought out to the Pacific, was announced to reopen the Nicaragua route. One trip was made via the Central American Transit company's line, when again the vessels were withdrawn, and in March reappeared on the Panamá route, where they continued to run until August, when they returned to the Nicaraguan isthmus, the *America*, now commanded by Thomas H. Morton, alternating with the *Moses Taylor*, and connecting with the *Golden Rule*, of 3,500 tons, on the Atlantic side. The transit, it was said, was in fine order. Concord coaches built expressly for this route were furnished; there were two steamers on the lake and six on the river, the accommodations being ample for 1,200 passengers.

Early in 1866 there was formed in New York the North American Steamship company, the directors of which were William H. Aspinwall and S. W. Comstock of the original Pacific Mail, William H. Webb, and others. Assistant Secretary of the Navy G. V. Fox was the first president, and several of the captains formerly in command of the Pacific Mail took service with the new company, which was to run either to Nicaragua or the Panamá isthmus, the Panamá railroad being bound to strict neutrality. The Vanderbilt contract having lapsed through failure to perform, the Nicaraguan government made a new grant of the right of exclusive transit for a period of ninety-nine years, with a reduction of the annual payments, and more liberal terms generally.

The vessels employed by the North American company were the same formerly in the service of the New York and California company, which seemed to show an identity of interests, although the management was radically different. In 1867 the *Oregonian*, a steamship built in New York in 1865-6 for the Oregon Steam Navigation company, was purchased and added to the company's fleet, and then were constructed for this company the *Dakota*, *Nevada*, and *Nebraska*, all ships of 3,000 tons burden, well officered, and completely fitted for the convenience of passengers. This opposition was the most damaging of any ever set on foot to the Pacific Mail company, and in the contest for supremacy it was difficult to determine which offered the greater inducements to travellers. Fare via Panamá was reduced to forty dollars, and freight to ninety cents a hundred pounds. In addition to a semi-monthly line via Panamá, steamers ran every twenty days via Nicaragua, carrying not only passengers but freight, a thing never before attempted. It was simply a question of money as to which should prevail, the old or the new company, and as the old had the longer purse the rival line was finally forced to withdraw, which it did in the latter part of 1868.

To return to the Pacific Mail. In 1863 it made an arrangement with the Liverpool, Western, and Spanish American Steam Packet company to forward Pacific coast freights from Panamá to Liverpool, London, Havre, Hamburg, Bremen, and other European centres, by which means it was enabled to secure the carrying trade of the Mexican ports destined to Europe. It had a little later, however, to contend with an increasing number of competitors; the Panamá Railroad company having set up an opposition in the Central American Mail Steamship company, owning three vessels, which absorbed a good deal of the coast trade; the Pacific Steam Navigation company, trading between Panamá and Valparaíso, which owned

seventeen vessels; the California Steam Navigation company, which, besides its large fleet of river and bay steamers, also owned three ocean steamships, the *Ajax* of this company having in 1866 first entered upon a route from San Francisco to the Sandwich islands. The coast lines employed five steamers, the total capacity of these various companies, without the *Ajax*, being 24,000 tons, against 22,000 tons in the Pacific Mail's ten steamships owned at that time. The total length of the sea routes covered was 10,000 miles, while 500 miles of river navigation employed twelve steamers. It is interesting to know that there were at this period, 1866, 180 miles of railroad in operation in California, and 5,000 miles of stage lines. Wondrous development of transportation in seventeen years!

Besides the opposition of the North American company, which had cost enormously, the Pacific Mail company had entered into a contract with the government to carry the mail between San Francisco and Japan and China, stopping at the Sandwich islands, for ten years, for the compensation of \$500,000 annually; and four new steamships of large size had to be built for this service.

So far as the Hawaiian islands were concerned the contract could not be carried out; for, aside from the fact that steamers of the size of the *Colorado*, which opened the route in January 1867, the *Great Republic*, the *Japan*, the *America*, and the *China*, could not conveniently enter the harbor of Honolulu, the company in preparing for the China trade had to consider the shortest, safest, and quickest route, and they discovered that to obtain it they must steam north of the Sandwich islands in going to Japan, and in returning take the northern arc of the circle followed by sailing vessels, the gain in point of time being four days each way. These and other considerations, but these chiefly, led to the modification of the contract, whereby the Islands were left out, and in place of this part

of the service branch lines were established between points in the China and Japan seas.

The subject of commerce with China from the Pacific coast was as old as the century, and had been written and spoken about in congress and out, year after year, and had been the theme of memorials and petitions from the California legislature and the San Francisco chamber of commerce. As early as 1851 vessels were engaged in the trade between China and California. Clipper ships soon followed, and all prospered. The importance of steam communication was recognized as early as 1850, when the secretary of the navy proposed it, and the senate committee reported favorably upon it. A steamship company for the China trade was organized in 1853, called the Oriental and Pacific Steam Navigation company, composed of C. K. Garrison president, Henry Haight, Felix Argenti, Jesse Carothers, Joseph G. Palmer, Gabriel B. Post, E. P. Flint, James King of William, Thomas D. Johns, N. C. Reed, and George C. Bates, with a capital of \$10,000,000. But the company never had an active existence. A subsidized China Mail was proposed by resolution in the California legislature in 1854; the public prints discussed its advantages; magazine writers dwelt upon the grandeur, the poetry, the patriotism of attaching the Orient to the western side of our continent, until the subject threatened to become stale from repetition before the government should move in the matter.

In all of these plans the Sandwich islands were included. Vessels had indeed run to Honolulu with considerable regularity, and even some experimental voyages had been made by the steamers *Frémont*, *Commodore Stockton*, and *Commodore Preble* in 1851, but the inauguration of a regular line was not attempted until January 13, 1860, when the California Navigation company despatched the *Ajax*, a steam screw propeller of 2,000 tons, Christopher Godfrey commander, to open the route. It was soon demon-

strated that the *Ajax* could not compete with the fleet line of clippers, and the company withdrew this vessel after one or two voyages. The decision therefore of the Pacific Mail company that it could not stop its vessels at the Islands was a disappointment to San Francisco, which would have liked such a line, which was commodious and handsomely appointed, between the Golden Gate and the Hawaiian kingdom. The chamber of commerce endeavored to have congress maintain another line to the Islands, with a subsidy of \$100,000, the Pacific Mail to take the contract, the negotiations ending, as I have said, by the substitution of branch lines from Yokohama to Nagasaki, Shanghai, and other parts in the inland waters of China, leaving the islands without steam mail service. On the 2d day of March 1867, however, a contract was awarded to the California, Oregon, and Mexican Steamship company, of which Ben. Holladay was principal owner, for \$75,000, the service to consist of monthly trips to and from the Islands, carrying the mails. It was begun under this contract in October 1867. In 1868 the Island legislature granted to the California, Oregon, and Mexican company an additional subsidy of \$50,000, in consideration of the service being increased to a trip every twenty-one days. This company also obtained a contract at \$25,000, for carrying a mail three times a month to Portland, this being supplementary to the daily overland mail by stage, which took five days, whereas the steamers, in fine weather, made the voyage in three days. The trade which the Holladay line secured at the start for the Islands amounted to about 1,500 tons per month from, and 1,000 tons to Honolulu, with a good passenger list which it was calculated would increase twenty-five per cent annually thereafter.

Thus far had the history of transportation gone when the Pacific Mail company made its report in October 1867. According to that statement its previous year's business amounted to \$7,639,707.99. Its

running expenses, which included the voyages of the *Great Republic* and *China* from New York to San Francisco, and of the *New York* and *Costa Rica* from New York to Hongkong, and of the *Hermann* from San Francisco to Yokahama, footed up \$4,073,719; repairs of its steamers, \$426,472.70; officers' expenses in New York, with salaries, \$105,003.10; all other agencies, \$364,376.84; Benicia depot, \$21,622.26; dividends—one of five per cent on \$15,000,000, and three of three per cent on \$20,000,000—\$2,550,000, making its disbursements \$7,546,193.90, leaving cash in hand to the amount of \$93,514.09.

The number of voyages between New York and San Francisco was 36 each way. The number of through passengers out was 18,477; to New York, 8,383; way passengers, 4,246; total, 31,106. Of 46,428 tons of freight, 29,716 was for San Francisco, 16,712 for New York, and 16,164 tons was for way ports, making a total of 60,000 tons carried on this line. Added to these was treasure of the value of \$42,291,919. These figures represented only the business and expenditures of the New York and San Francisco lines. Louis McLane, the acting president, remarked that he preferred that the president, Allan McLane, should report on the China line, as he would do on his return from Yokohama, but that more than \$4,000,000 had been expended in steamers and depots for this line, and \$1,500,000 more would be required to complete the fourth steamship, while the receipts from passengers, freights, and mails were in excess of current expenses. The assets of the company were given as cash, bonds, Panamá railway shares, and Atlantic telegraph stock, costing \$3,778,124.20; and loans on collateral, including \$500,000, secured by bond and mortgage covering all the real estate and other property of the Novelty Iron Works company, and guaranteed by James Brown which amounted to \$1,230,790; bills receivable, \$302,556.84, together with coal, shares of the company's stock,

supplies, real estate, warehouses, officers, with twenty steamers, two tugboats, four unfinished steamers which were partly paid for, etc., to the amount of \$22,472,-684.72. The liabilities of the company were to Brown, Shipley & Co., for \$473,708.18 credits for coals and supplies, for freight on coals, and for unfinished steamers. The company's steamships ranked A1, those on the Panamá route having an average capacity of 1,000 tons through freight and 1,000 passengers, while those of the China line had capacity for 1,500 passengers and 2,000 tons of freight.

Such a report would not indicate any weakness in the great company. Yet it was at this time being most violently assailed by an opposition within itself, as well as having to stand the competition of the North American company on the seas. In an address of a part of the stockholders to the other members of the company, made in November 1867, charges of fraud, extravagance, immense salaries, and enormous expenses were put forward as a reason for desiring to make a change in the directory at the coming election. The protestants were Frederick Butterfield, Spencer K. Green, George B. Hartson, and O. W. Joslyn & Co., directors of the North Atlantic Mail company. They began their remonstrance by stating that the commerce of the company on the Pacific ocean the previous year amounted to \$100,294,687, and the value of the tonnage employed in that trade to \$92,874,250. Comparing these figures with those of other nations, they found that British trade for the same period was \$139,184,834, and the value of the tonnage employed \$51,464,750, while the French commerce was \$67,-210,609, and the value of the French ships was \$8,130,750. The total value of the trade of the whole world, which ought to pass from the Atlantic to the Pacific, was \$467,831,130 annually. The trade which was secured by the Pacific Mail, and the value of its ships, was therefore something surprising and magnificent, and should not be imperilled. They declared

that in spite of the fact that the net profits of the company were nearly \$4,000,000 annually, that dividends had been reduced in 1867 from twenty to twelve per cent, or a total of \$2,076,000. They charged that the managers had recently sold 50,000 shares of stock to one or more directors for \$200 a share, when the price was \$220 and \$230, and afterward took back a portion of it at \$150 when the market price was \$125. They also charged that salaries of freight clerks had been raised, and that to Louis McLane, president of Wells, Fargo & Co., was paid a commission of five per cent in gold on all freights earned by the company. They declared that a large number of influential stockholders believed the present management injudicious and extravagant; that it was not necessary to increase a fund which must already exceed \$8,000,000, and that twenty per cent dividends should be restored; that it was improvident to pay Wells, Fargo & Co. five per cent on all freights carried by the company; and unnecessary to pay a brokerage on coal freights amounting to \$70,000 annually, when the company's clerks could procure the charters, or if competition were allowed, brokerage need not cost more than \$5,000; that it was extravagant to pay the president \$25,000 salary a year, to allow half a million for office expenses, and to pay \$20,000 annually to Brown Brothers & Co. for a building in New York which was not needed. The offices in Wall street, said these irate critics, were not kept for the convenience of the stockholders, since they are not allowed to examine the book of names except by an order of the court.

All this and much more revealed valid reasons for discontent, although in the reply of the directors, Francis Skidder, Louis McLane, William Denniston, James M. Brown, Moses H. Grinnell, and Jonathan Thorne, most of these accusations were sought to be denied. They asserted that the policy of the board was to avoid all speculation in the stock of the com-

pany, and to manage its affairs for the permanent good of the stockholders ; that the only monopoly the company had, or could have, was that which arose from their superior manner of doing business, and the confidence of the public inspired by their management. Their reason for increasing the capital of the company, which they had long ago commenced to do, was to have the means on hand to hold out against speculative competition, and in order to establish a line upon the Atlantic, the good results of which had been evident. The importance of a line to China, and the necessity for superior vessels to comply with the requirements of the post-office department with other great outlays, and a threatened foreign competition, made a large reserve fund indispensable. There had been, also, apprehensions that the Panamá Railway company might fail to obtain a further concession for the transit of the Isthmus, and the necessity that the steamship company should have on hand cash to secure the concession, constituted another reason for lessening dividends. They denied that a large cash fund was made in order that it might be kept on deposit with friends of the company, or that it kept its balances with any private bankers or individual.

As to side-wheel steamers, which the opposition considered extravagant as compared with screw propellers, the experience of the company was declared to be that paddle-wheel vessels, for its trade, possessed decided advantages. "Indeed," said the directors, "there are to-day no vessels in the world which perform the same service upon so small a consumption of fuel as the vessels we have constructed. The service which in 1860 was performed by vessels consuming eighty tons of coal a day is now better done on a consumption of forty tons a day ; and when the high price of coal on the Pacific is considered, it will be seen how largely the company's profits result from the superior qualities of the vessels we have constructed." The charge of unnecessary ship brokerage

was denied; but that the president of the company received \$15,000 salary, and one-half per cent commission on dividends, was acknowledged, and defended on the ground that the services of so competent a president as McLane were worth the money, and to put in his place an inferior man would not be true economy.

And here followed some statistics, to the effect that during the twelve and a half years prior to McLane's appointment the company divided to its stockholders \$5,141,510 in money and \$1,600,000 in stock, being an average of \$539,322 per year; while during the seven years since his appointment it had divided \$8,374,595 in money and \$7,500,000 in stock, or an average of \$2,267,800 per year.

It would seem that the position which was taken by the defendants was unanswerable; but the entanglements into which the Pacific Mail had been forced by the Vanderbilt opposition just previous to McLane's appointment, by which the companies had interchanged stock and property, were now the forces by which the Pacific Mail was sought to be rent asunder. Every effort was put forth to prevent the reelection of McLane at the annual election held in November. Injunction followed injunction. First the directory of the Pacific Mail procured the issuance of a writ from the United States district court, restraining several large stockholders from voting unless the English firm of Brown Brothers had the privilege of voting on all restricted stock. Another injunction from the same source restrained Brown Brothers from voting on any other stock than that of the Atlantic Mail company. A third writ from the supreme court directed the inspectors to postpone the election until the 16th of December, to give time for the settlement of the various questions in dispute.

All this restraint came from an effort to prevent Brown Brothers & Co., who held in various interests 77,839 shares of the company on which they alone

were authorized to vote. As the whole capital stock consisted of 200,000 shares, it was plain that Brown Brothers & Co. might control the choice of a directory, or their exclusion give an entirely different coloring to the result. The court decided that the stock held by Brown Brothers & Co. must be voted, and finally before election day a compromise was effected, the Atlantic Mail interest being allowed a fair representation in the board to be elected. During the flurry, and owing to the effort of certain persons to gain the control, Pacific Mail stock was subjected to a downward pressure, but rebounded on the settlement of the difficulty.

The interval before election was employed by the opposition in canvassing. Oliver Charlick, Thomas F. Mason, and H. S. Camblos were appointed by the malcontents a committee to nominate a board to be voted for on December 16th. The names offered by this committee were Charles H. Russell, Edwin D. Morgan, Abiel A. Low, Moses Taylor, Moses H. Grinnell, Samuel G. Wheeler, Jr, Oliver Charlick, George B. Hartson, and Allan McLane. The directors of the Atlantic Mail company subsequently named, Allan McLane, Howard Potter, James M. Brown, Louis McLane, Jonathan Thorne, William Dennistoun, Abiel A. Low, George B. Hartson, and Samuel G. Wheeler as their choice for directors of the Pacific Mail company.

Allan McLane was reelected president at the final election, and continued in that office until 1872. The period of his presidency, extending over more than seventeen years, was that of the greatest growth and most interesting history in steam navigation on the Pacific, and without question much of the greatness of the company was due to the wisdom of his management. In his report, in February 1868, he gave a backward glance to his first report, made in 1861, when the company owned eleven steamships, and was building the *Constitution*. Of the eleven steamers,

whose names are by this time familiar to the reader, the *Golden Age* and the tugboat *Taboga*, employed in Panamá bay, alone remained in active service. The *Golden Gate* had been burned at sea; the *Oregon*, *John L. Stephens*, *Orizaba*, and *Uncle Sam* had been sold as unfitted for the trade, but to friends, in whose hands they served as feeders to the main line; the *Sonora* and *Washington* were worn out, and had been broken up; the *California* was soon to be broken up; and the *St Louis* was kept as a spare ship at Panamá. He showed that notwithstanding the rapid deterioration of steamship property, the gross receipts and profits of the company constantly improved. In 1861 the receipts were \$2,792,489.97; in 1865, \$4,013,008.42; and in 1867, \$7,151,352.69. The total net earnings of the seven previous years had been \$14,935,988.99, of which \$8,374,595 had been divided among the stockholders, and the remainder applied to the construction of a fleet of the finest steamships in the world. The company owned at this time twenty-two steamers, namely: *Rising Star*, *Arizona*, *Henry Chauncey*, *Ocean Queen*, *Northern Light*, *Ariel*, *Clary*, *Clarita*, *Montana*, *Golden City*, *Sacramento*, *Constitution*, *Golden Age*, *St Louis*, *Sonora*, *California*, *Taboga*, *Great Republic*, *China*, *Colorado*, *New York*, *Costa Rica*, and *Hermann*, and had in process of construction the *Japan*, *America*, *Alaska*, and Panamá tender *Ancon*.

The transportation business in the Pacific had now reached enormous proportions. The passenger traffic from 1858, when it may be considered as settled, down to 1865 inclusive, was as follows:

ARRIVALS.		ARRIVALS.	
YEARS.	PASSENGERS.	YEARS.	PASSENGERS.
1858.....	12,746	1862.....	14,771
1859.....	13,402	1863.....	15,882
1860.....	16,185	1864.....	9,773
1861.....	16,864	1865.....	23,784

The departures for 1865 exceeded the arrivals, numbering 29,776, this being the first year in eight when the state had not gained in population by excess of arrivals over departures by sea. The following year the balance was restored. For many years the British government had enjoyed a monopoly of the carrying trade between Europe and the far east. First in the slow-going, square-rigged Indiamen which made a voyage via the Cape of Good Hope in three years time. Then came the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation company, which was subsidized by the British government. In 1858 this was the most powerful maritime company in the world, and dictated terms alike to the government and its patrons. But its ships were inconvenient, slow, and badly managed, and they navigated seas where the mercury rose to 110° daily. It became in time as far behind the age as the Indiamen had been behind the clipper ships which in California's young days divided the trade of China with the French steamers, and still competed with Pacific steam lines. When the exigencies of trade had outrun the British contract line, the French seized upon the project which England disregarded, of the Suez canal, and thus placed the Isthmus transit out of the control of the British government by subsidizing the Messageries Imperiales steamers, giving a monthly line to China, and securing a water transit between the Mediterranean and Red seas. Its passengers gained ten or twelve days' time, cheaper rates, and greater comfort and courtesy. The next concession to the growing demands of commerce was the American China line, which astonished the merchants of Shanghai on the 5th of August 1857 by delivering New York and London market reports of July 5th. The Pacific Mail company carried letters from Hong-kong to New York in forty-four days, and to London in fifty-five, while telegrams from London were delivered within thirty days in Japan. Previous to the establishment of this line, the only steam communica-

tion with China for the American traveller was by the way of Europe, India, and Hongkong. Now the current of travel was to be reversed; and when the transcontinental railroad should be completed, European travel would flow over this continent and across the Pacific, thus affording favorable opportunities for sightseeing, with every comfort of travel, in a latitude where the mercury never rose to an unpleasant degree. The English afterward bethought themselves to put on steamers to India via the Suez canal, but they could not compete with railroads.

Notwithstanding these advantages in its favor, the China Mail had not an easy victory at first. The Hongkong press visited heavily upon it the sins of its California stiff-necked arrogance, and warned it that the merchants of China were not the patient, easily pleased, forbearing kind of men who lacked the energy and courage to withstand imposition and defend themselves as the Californians had shown themselves to be. "On or about these days a steamer will sail" would not suit the people who believed that time is money. It criticised severely the employing of "dirty coolies," who had, perhaps, never before seen a knife and fork, to wait on the table; and the necessity of making acquaintance with the head steward in order to obtain any desired luxury that was afforded by the commissary department.

There were, however, really great obstacles to be overcome. Having no coaling station on the route, and having to carry coals for the voyage, nearly half the freight carrying capacity was taken up by fuel, in order to save which a low rate of speed was maintained. It was not always possible to discharge cargoes in time to start promptly, and the storms of these seas frequently interfered with regular sailing days. It required more than two years to become thoroughly established.

By the aid of the congressional subsidy the company was able to keep the field, although sustaining a

loss of \$9,000,000 before it began to realize a profit. Then it asked to have the service increased and the subsidy doubled. There were ten outward and nine inward voyages made in 1868; 10,094 passengers carried, 698 of whom were first class; and treasure shipped to the amount of \$6,743,672. The export trade amounted to \$8,152,752, and in 1869 to \$10,816,018. The imports for the same periods increased from \$2,332,347 to \$3,998,026. The duties on Asiatic goods increased from \$1,738,151 to \$2,044,929. Nearly half of this trade was done at San Francisco. The mails, too, had increased five fold. Congress passed a law in 1870 permitting bonded goods to be shipped from San Francisco, by rail to New York and certain way ports, and the right was also granted to transmit merchandise from Great Britain across the continent and tranship on steamers without breaking packages.

There had been a great gradual decline in the market value of Pacific Mail stock from 1865 to 1870, resulting from the efforts of railroad men to gain control of the Pacific Mail, based upon reports of losses and irregularities, as well as from causes already mentioned.

The opening of the Central Pacific and Union Pacific railroads in 1869 was the occasion of a new crisis in its affairs. Hitherto it had been forced to contend only with rivals of its own kind, and which were dependent like itself on the Isthmus transit. But now all was changed. The current of travel and of business was overland, by a mode of swifter travel than steamships going thousands of miles out of the line of their ultimate destination ever could achieve. Competition was out of the question; it was only by combination that the usefulness and the dignity of the old Panamá line could be preserved. But it was some time before that combination could be satisfactorily effected. During the scramble between longs and shorts to profit by the vexations of the Pacific Mail company, \$3,000,000 might have purchased a

controlling interest in its stock, while its assets were valued at \$18,252,797. From the opening of the transcontinental road the receipts of the Panamá line declined rapidly until the latter part of 1870, and in 1871 were declared barely sufficient to cover running expenses. To meet this loss special efforts were made to divert shipments from sailing vessels, especially from those going to England and Europe.

Still, it was more by comparison with former times that the company suffered than in point of fact. "Our folks," said one of the company's agents, "were so used in former years to taking in money by the shovelful that they look ugly about getting it, as at present, in the palm of the hand. They are not ruined, only half contented. The way traffic from Panamá north is very good, and picking up. The China trade is large and growing, and the British Peninsular and Oriental line is mightily distressed."

In 1869-70 the company sent Richard B. Irwin, one of its California agents, to Washington to propose to the government a doubled service and a doubled subsidy on the China line; but the application failed. Had it succeeded, the company intended to put on a line to Australia, to prevent this trade falling into the hands of an English company. But the English company failed also of a subsidy, and no line to Australia was established at that time.

The nearest route available between Australia and England was that via Point de Galle, the Red sea, the Mediterranean, and thence across Europe. To have their mails thus transported monthly the sum of \$2,250,000 was paid to the Peninsular and Oriental company. In addition the company charged one-half of one per cent freight on all the gold carried. First-class passengers paid \$650, and none second class were allowed. Equally high rates were charged for books, papers, and any light freight. The contract time for the voyage each way was fifty-four days, and the

actual time fifty-six days. One-half the subsidy was paid by the Australians, and the other half by Great Britain. It was estimated that 30,000 first-class passengers travelled each way annually, although to avoid the discomforts of the Red sea route many preferred the passage around Cape Horn in clipper ships; but at the lowest estimate these passengers paid out annually for being carried back and forth \$15,000,000. The superiority of the route by way of San Francisco and the Pacific railroads to New York, and thence to Liverpool by one of the Atlantic lines, was manifest, besides which the cost would be very much less than by the old routes via the Red sea or around Cape Horn.

Commerce with Australia had long been desired by California. In 1854 the project of steam communication had been broached; but the nearest approach to intercourse had been by the opening of a line to Panamá by the Australian and New Zealand Steamship company in 1866, which connected there with the Royal Mail for Liverpool, as did also the Pacific Mail, whose San Francisco agent was also agent for these companies. It was thought to be apparent in 1868 that the Australian company was contemplating a change of route to San Francisco, which fear acted as a spur to American effort to retain the sovereignty of the seas in the Pacific.

But it was well known that no steamship line could sustain itself without government aid. Accordingly, in March 1870, and again in December of the same year, the San Francisco chamber of commerce memorialized congress on the subject, as did the state legislative body also, the United States senate committee reporting favorably on the advantages of Australian commerce with our Pacific coast. The merchants of Fiji, who were deeply interested in the movement, sent a memorial by the hands of Henry C. Victor, then on a visit to the Islands, to W. H. Webb, known to be contemplating attempting such an enterprise,

to encourage him to undertake it. They at the same time urged the government to take possession of the Islands, on which it had an indemnity claim for the murder and cannibalistic consumption of an American missionary, and which they represented to be fertile, and adapted to coffee and sugar planting. That this advice was neglected, and that the English paid the indemnity and took the island of Vita Leuu instead is now a matter of history. The long ocean voyage made it a matter of interest to decide upon some central point of meeting and coaling in mid-ocean, and the Fiji islands were regarded by the residents as a convenient point in the course of any future steam line to New Zealand and Australia.

The press of the United States, especially of California, was very urgent in 1870 that congress should subsidize an American steamship line to Australia. Reports were flying about that a London company was intending establishing a line from Australia via San Francisco, thence by rail to Portland, Maine, and thence by steamer to Milford Haven, Wales, and to make the trip in forty days; also that the Cunard line would transfer some of its vessels to the Pacific for the purpose of securing this trade. Amidst all this talk Holladay and Brenham of San Francisco, and W. H. Webb of New York, were the first real competitors for the line. The former proposed to send their Honolulu steamers through to Sydney, or to connect with a line from Sydney. Webb had already made arrangements with the governments of New South Wales, New Zealand, and Queensland, which had pledged to pay a certain amount of subsidy. The government at Melbourne held aloof, fearing to injure her position as the entrepôt of intercolonial trade; but the chief difficulty was with the United States government. Webb was well provided with steamers, the *Nebraska*, *Nevada*, *Dakota*, and *Santiago de Cuba* being available for this service.

In the mean time H. H. Hall, United States consul

at Sydney, chartered two steamers, the *Wonga-Wonga* and the *City of Adelaide*, of the old Australian and New Zealand company, obtained a mail subsidy of \$75,000 each from the governments of Australia and one of the colonies, and commenced in March 1870 to run from Sydney to Honolulu connecting with Holladay's steamers to San Francisco. The *Wonga-Wonga* brought out 160 passengers, and reached Honolulu in seventeen days transferring 140 of her passengers to the *Idaho*. The whole passage to San Francisco, including stoppages, occupied thirty-nine days, the distance being 7,284 miles, or 500 to 900 miles less than to Panamá. First-class fare was \$175, second-class, \$125, and third-class, \$90. The government of New Zealand addressed a congratulatory letter to the governor of California, and sent with it public records showing the condition, and the products of the colony. Letters from England by this line reached Auckland nine days sooner than letters of the same date via Suez.

In February 1871, Julius Vogel, treasurer and postmaster-general of New Zealand, arrived in San Francisco, and made a speech to the chamber of commerce, explaining that New Zealand had always held that the mail line should be an American one, but that Victoria gave the preference to a route via Suez and Galle, or the Cape of Good Hope. The cost of the line via Panamá had been shared between New Zealand and New South Wales, but was then contributing to the Galle line. In 1869 a proposal was made to the government of New Zealand by Queensland and New South Wales to establish a line by the way of Torres straits and Suez independent of the line by way of Melbourne and Galle, but the general assembly by resolution had decided in favor of San Francisco, and it was in consequence of this resolution that Mr Hall had acted as he had in starting the line to Honolulu in the expectation of developing trade and encouraging a better line.

Not long after the appearance of Mr Vogel, who proceeded to Washington from San Francisco, a contract with Webb and Holladay was signed March 7th by which thirteen trips a year were to be made between San Francisco, New Zealand, Sydney, and Melbourne, and the time to be made was such that the mails could be delivered in London in forty-eight days. On the part of New Zealand \$300,000 was promised, and on the part of the United States a similar sum was expected.

On the 8th of April, in spite of the fact that congress had adjourned without passing appropriation bills in aid of either the Australian line or increased service to China, Webb despatched the *Nevada* for the ports of Honolulu, Auckland, Wellington, Lyttleton, Port Chalmers, Sydney, and Melbourne. At the end of about a year and a half the steamers were withdrawn, with the declaration by their owner that his loss was \$500,000, and that no steamship line could exist without revenue from passengers, freights, and mails. He should have known the truth of this matter, for his line to Germany had failed when the German companies combined to refuse to sell tickets by American lines; his line to Copenhagen and other ports in the Baltic failed when the British owners combined to run off American vessels.

The successor of Webb's line was the California New Zealand and Australian Steamship company's line of which the energetic American consul at Sydney was the founder, aided by English owners in London. Vessels were chartered with which to commence business, but it was the intention of the company, which despatched its first steamer in December 1873, to construct several ships expressly for this line. Burnside and Thomas A. Scott were said to be the American representatives of the company. The agent in San Francisco was J. C. Merrill.

About this time it began to be realized by the California merchants that the great company had neg-

lected an opportunity of largely augmenting American commerce by having left to an English association, the Pacific Steam Navigation company, the whole of the west coast of South America. This company, rebelling against the extortionate tolls demanded by the Panamá railway company, had also started a line through the straits of Magellan. What with the falling off in business on the opening of the transcontinental railroad, and the loss by the Magellan line, the Panamá railroad for a period of nearly two years made little over its working expenses. And yet, properly managed, it was the best piece of railroad property, of equal extent, in the world. About 1871 it was forced to reduce tariff, and to enter into a contract with the Pacific Mail by which lower through rates were granted. The independence of the Central Pacific railway company was quite equal to that formerly practised by the Pacific Mail company. The latter at first refused to ship freights from China ports unless the routes specified should be via Panamá. The railroad company thereupon threatened to put on a steamship line to China should it not be permitted to carry all east-bound passengers and freight coming to San Francisco by the Pacific Mail. The demand was granted. It could not be otherwise than that the railroad should profit greatly by the China line; and inversely the steamship business was greatly augmented by the trade which the railroad fostered.

In April 1872, having in mind the significance of these several matters, and fearful of losing advantages already gained, the San Francisco chamber of commerce held a special meeting for the purpose of memorializing congress to pass the bill then before it granting a subsidy to the Australian line, and the other bill increasing the service and the subsidy of the China line. As I have already mentioned the Australian bill failed; but in June the China subsidy bill became a law.

By the terms of this act, which empowered the post-

master-general to make the contract with the company, the service was to be made semi-monthly, and to be performed in American-built, iron-screw steamships of not less than 4,000 tons register, commencing on the 1st of October 1873. The time arrived, but the ships were not completed, owing to the impossibility of obtaining the necessary amount of material of the weight and size required, which had never been manufactured in America, and it was anxiously feared that the contract with the government would be declared forfeited. The company, however, commenced its semi-monthly trips to China with the *Alaska*, *China*, *Colorado*, *Japan*, *Great Republic*, and *Colima*, the *Alaska* and *Japan* having the contract tonnage, but the others, ranging from 3,000 to 3,882 tons, and constituting a noble fleet of vessels. In March 1874 the *City of Peking*, the largest steamship in the world except the *Great Eastern*, was launched from the shipyard of John Roach, at Chester, Pennsylvania, followed soon after by the *City of Tokio*, of equal size.

The dimensions of these vessels were: length over all, 420 feet; beam, 47 feet 4 inches; depth, 38 feet 6 inches; tonnage, nearly 6,000; full ship, rigged with four masts, with accommodations for 120 first-class, 250 second-class, and 1,000 third-class passengers. The staterooms in the first cabin were 6 by 8½ feet; the grand saloon 120 by 48 feet; the social hall 41 by 19 feet 8 inches. The saloon was finished in maple, satinwood, and French walnut, and upholstered in plush, with velvet carpets. The engines were double compound, high-pressure cylinders, 51 inches in diameter; low-pressure cylinders, 88 inches in diameter; stroke of piston, 54 inches, with propeller wheel of Hirsch's patent, 20 feet 3 inches in diameter, pitch 30 feet. The boilers were 10 in number, 10 feet 6 inches long, and 13 feet in diameter. Such were the ships evolved by degrees from the fleet of 1849, whose largest vessel was, although large for the time,

scarcely more than a third the size of the China steamers, whose cost each was about \$1,000,000, the amount of one year's increased subsidy.

When these matters were projected, Allan McLane was still president of the Pacific Mail, but at the annual election for 1872 Alden B. Stockwell, James D. Smith, H. H. Baxter, Frederick Billings, Alexander Masterton, Henry Clews, George L. Kingsland, R. G. Ralston, and F. W. G. Bellows were the board chosen in the interest of the now dominant stock-gambling opposition.

When McLane retired and Stockwell became the president, the Pacific Mail company owned twenty steamships, valued at \$11,843,534 60, and other property, including 14,000 shares in the Panamá railroad, amounting to a total of \$21,197,152.70. The Panamá railroad company, whose directors were W. H. Aspinwall, David Hoadley, Francis Skiddy, H. H. Baxter, Henry Clews, J. D. Smith, Alexander Masterton, Frederick Billings, F. W. G. Bellows, L. S. Stockwell, A. B. Stockwell, G. L. Kingsland, and G. Parmly, all but five of whom were directors in the Pacific Mail, showing that the old board had obtained control of both companies, gave its cash assets at \$295,000, its real estate at \$73,000, and the value of five steamers which it owned, and ran in opposition to the Pacific Mail, at \$900,000, or a total of \$1,268,000. During Stockwell's presidency the number of the Pacific Mail's vessels was increased to forty-one by the addition by purchase of the Central American and Mexico line, consisting of six steamers which had competed with the Pacific Mail company for the coast trade north of Panamá; of seven vessels on the Atlantic, and four on the Pacific, which had formerly run in opposition; and by construction and charter of the remainder.

The Pacific Mail company had now control of the sea from San Francisco to Panamá and New York, except as to Holladay's coasting steamers. It also

ran a line to the Sandwich islands, in place of Webb and Holladay's steamers, withdrawn. In August 1873 the Colorado Navigation company was formed, which purchased the propeller *Montana*, together with that portion of the Mexican route of the Pacific Mail company embraced in the peninsula and gulf of California. The Colorado company placed the *Montana* and the *Newbern* on the route to San Francisco, calling at Guaymas every twenty days.

Notwithstanding the great increase in capacity, aggregating 91,864 tons, the assets of the company in 1873 were given in at \$20,542,845. The company sustained an unusual amount of losses this year, which will be noticed specially further on. The line to the Hawaiian islands was withdrawn in September. In the following month an English association, the Trans-Pacific Steam Navigation company, established a line to China via Japan, sending out the *Vasco de Gama*, the first of their fleet, on the 20th of November, to be followed soon by the *Vancouver*. At the same time the *Prince Alfred* ran regularly between Victoria and San Francisco, alternating with the *Labouchere*.

The next presidents of the Pacific Mail company after Stockwell were G. H. Bradbury, then Russell Sage, Sidney Dillon, W. P. Clyde, Henry Hart, D. S. Babcock, and John Riley. Sage served without salary, and Rufus Hatch was manager, and who it was expected would infuse new life into the affairs of the company. There were eight new steamers in the service or being constructed, namely, the *Acapulco*, *Granada*, *Colima*, and *Colon*, of 3,000 tons and over; while the *City of Peking*, *City of Tokio*—first called *Yeddo*—already described, and the *City of Panamá* and *City of Callao*, of 1,700 tons each, were not yet completed.

Mr Hatch, in December 1873, announced the intention of the company to run the China steamships again direct to Panamá, only stopping long enough to discharge San Francisco freight, declaring that the

new arrangement would materially lessen freights and fares from China to New York. Passenger rates were to be reduced from \$125 to \$100, and from \$100 to \$90. Officers' salaries were reduced; subsidies paid out were discontinued—as in the case of the *William Tabor* which received \$33,000 yearly not to run to San Diego in opposition to the Pacific Mail steamers in the coasting trade, namely the *Orizaba*, *Senator*, *Pacific*, and *Gypsy*, and great things were prophesied of the new management. Already five of the costly new steamers had been paid for, two others half paid for, and only one on whose construction nothing had been paid.

We all know how it often fares with the best laid schemes. The determination of the new directory to carry the company's passengers and freight to Panamá engendered the Oriental and Occidental Steamship company of California, established by the representatives of the Central Pacific railroad; the directors being Leland Stanford, Charles Crocker, David D. Colton, Lloyd Tevis, and Mark Hopkins, and the capital stock \$10,000,000, in shares of \$100 each. The "selfish policy of the steamship company" was alleged as the cause of the Central Pacific's action in setting up an opposition, and, having entered into it, the new company intended to compete for the trade of the Pacific ocean. The average speed of the Pacific Mail's China steamers was 30 days and 16 hours from Hongkong to San Francisco; 20 days, 17 hours and 48 minutes from Yokohama, although the *Peking* had made the voyage in 16 days and 13 hours from Japan. The Occidental and Oriental steamers took 27 days, 12 hours from Hongkong; and 17 days, 10 hours from Yokohama; but the *Oceanic* had made a trip from China in 24 days, and from Japan in 15 days, 21 hours. The average from Sydney was 26 days, 16 hours, 55 minutes.

San Francisco had rebelled at the notion of being made a way port, and was at first disposed to scold

and then to coax the corporation into reason. They claimed that a selfish policy might be justly charged upon any person or corporation. The railroad demanded the patronage of the steamship company's business, of course, not in the interest of California, but in its own interest. The steamship company not only was opposed to this exercise of powers on the part of the Pacific railroad, but it was hampered with the yoke of the Panamá railroad, which had some rights in the company.

Almost from the date of its formation until the completion of our first transcontinental thoroughfare, the Pacific Mail Steamship company was one of the largest and most powerful corporations in the world, and even after the completion of the Central-Union system its operations were on a large and profitable scale, with lines of steamers running to Panamá, China, and Australia. With the last of these countries a moderate volume of trade has been developed, with prospects of a steady and considerable increase, while for the richer class of passenger traffic between the Australasian colonies and England, the route by way of San Francisco has found favor with our cousins at the antipodes.

Down to the date of the organization of the Oriental and Occidental Steamship company, in November 1874, notwithstanding its heavy expenditures, the Pacific Mail company continued to report favorably upon its condition. Its passenger receipts from New York to San Francisco, one way, from January to August for the years 1873 and 1874, were \$1,832 619, notwithstanding the Pacific railroad, and in addition to the China trade. The railroad people understood very well that they could not compete successfully with the Pacific Mail, but by combining with it on the ocean they could share in its prosperity, and force its coöperation. A month after the new company was formed a contract was entered into with the Pacific Mail by which that company should perform only a

monthly service to China, and the Occidental and Oriental a like service, making a semi-monthly line. The steamers of the latter line were the *Gealic*, *Oceanic* and *Belgic*. All the steamers were to retain connection with the Pacific railroads, and the roads would divide the earnings of the through business from China to the United States equally with the Pacific Mail. The railroad company also guaranteed 600 tons of freight semi-monthly to the Panamá line, and five dollars head money on all passengers carried by that company.

The Pacific Mail steamers thus released from the China service were to be placed on the Australian route to ply monthly between Sydney and San Francisco; and a contract to that effect was entered into with the colonial governments in June 1875, under a guarantee of \$450,000 annually. This contract forced out of the transportation business the line then running under the name of California, New Zealand, and Australia Steamship company. The subsidies enjoyed at this time by the Pacific Mail were \$600,000 from the United States, \$450,000 from Australia, \$16,000 from Costa Rica, \$12,000 from Nicaragua, \$12,000 from Honduras, \$15,000 from San Salvador, \$25,000 from Guatemala, \$30,000 from Mexico, or \$1,160,000 for carrying mails. The double subsidy to China was withdrawn after the investigation referred to, or it would have been nearly \$2,000,000. Previous to this the company had bought off the rival line to China, comprising the two steamers *Vasco de Gama* and *Vancouver*, and subsequently, to put them to some use, entered into a contract with British Columbia to carry the mails to Victoria and other ports tri-monthly in summer, and semi-monthly in winter.

So far the company had purchased, wisely or unwisely, a large number of steamers, but in January 1875 it transferred its San Diego line, consisting of the *Senator*, *Mohongo*, *Orizaba*, *Pacific*, *California* and *Gypsy*, to the firm of Goodall, Nelson & Perkins of

San Francisco, under the name of Pacific Coast Steamship company, with the good will and exclusive right for twenty-five years, against themselves, of all the coast trade between San Francisco and San Diego, for \$230,000. The purchasing parties agreed not to run their vessels on any of the routes then in use by the Pacific Mail; also not to sell any of the steamers purchased for twenty-five years, except upon the condition that they were to observe the same terms; and for every breach of this part of the contract \$10,000 should be paid, and the damaged company should have the right to apply for legal redress.

And still the great steamship company was in trouble. Its arrangement with the Pacific railroad was not satisfactory to either party. In 1876, when Clyde was president of the Pacific Mail, a contract was entered into between the company and the railroad by which it was agreed that the steamships were to decline all light freight by demanding high rates, and should they not be filled within six hundred tons of their capacity the Union Pacific should make up the deficiency. This the Union Pacific did by filling the vessels with heavy freight at low figures, retaining all the light and valuable freight for itself. The Pacific Mail was to keep up a high passenger rate for the railroads by charging a high fare on the steamers, and receive head money. But the steamship company had no means of knowing that the payments made were correct, and this arrangement ceased in the latter part of 1877, the railroad being then \$40,000 in debt to the steamship company.

But this was not all. In 1875, while under the management of Jay Gould, the Pacific Mail had a falling out with the Panamá railroad, then managed by Trenor W. Park, who cancelled the existing contract, and refused to grant bills of lading or passage tickets between New York and San Francisco. His next step was to wrest the control of the Pacific Mail from Gould, and place it with his favorites, with W.

P. Clyde as president. A new company called the Panamá Transit Steamship company came into existence, with Clyde as president of this also, with a fleet of old men-of-war vessels which had been refitted, among them the *Crescent City*, *Carolina*, and *Georgia*, and this company was to take the place of the Pacific Mail Steamship company. Park's next move was to issue a circular to the effect that in case the Pacific Mail should elect a board of directors not identified with any competing line, the Panamá Railroad company would adjust its claims on the steamship company amounting to about \$400,000, and extend the time of payment so as to prevent a sacrifice of property, securing itself on the company's steamers; and would, with the consent of the Panamá Transit company, give the Pacific Mail favorable terms for transportation of passengers and freight over its road. The two steamship companies should also contract to operate in harmony.

These complications led to an extraordinary transaction. In 1878 the Pacific Mail purchased the fleet of the Panamá Transit company for \$1,350,000, paying for it \$1,000,000 in borrowed bonds of the railroad company, and the remainder in notes of the Pacific Mail company. To secure the railroad company it transferred not only the four vessels just purchased, but its whole fleet of iron steamships, which had recently cost \$8,000,000.

To pay its indebtedness, amounting to over \$2,000,000, out of its earnings, was now the problem for the directory to solve, with its shares selling at 13½. The contract with the transcontinental railroad being at an end, and \$300,000 of the contract money being unpaid, the Pacific Mail issued a circular that freight would be taken by the steamship company at the old rate of five dollars per hundred pounds, and the Union Pacific having advanced its rates one hundred per cent, the steamers filled up rapidly. When the railroad again sought to control fares and freights, the

Pacific Mail demanded a royalty of \$55,000 monthly, which was only a little over half what the Panamá railroad exacted monthly from the steamship company, the latter being, by the year, within \$300,000 of its earnings. The gross earnings of the Panamá railroad in 1878 were given at \$2,114,859, to which was added a subsidy of \$250,000 from the Colombian government. Its net profit was \$1,079,626. Its bonded indebtedness was \$3,989,000, on which it paid seven per cent interest annually.

In 1879 a steamer was lost which, being mortgaged to the railroad company, added to the liabilities of the Pacific Mail, did not increase the hopefulness of its prospect. However, an amended contract with the Panamá railroad company, by which its charges were subsequently reduced \$10,000 a month on the freight contract, and the indebtedness correspondingly reduced, gave the first indication of a recovery from its embarrassments. Its liabilities over assets were still \$1,550,578, but in 1880 the destruction threatened by the mismanagement, and the increasing power of railroad companies, was averted by a recovery of its business on the procurement of better terms with the Panamá company, and active competition with the Central Pacific. The latter ended by a compromise by which C. P. Huntington, of the Central Pacific and Occidental and Oriental companies, obtained, through the purchase of certain Pacific Mail property and his relations to its president, Jay Gould, and to the Union Pacific, control of the management of the China line. The directors in 1880 were Jay Gould, Trenor W. Park, Sidney Dillon, Russell Sage, C. P. Huntington, Charles G. Franklin, E. H. Perkins, Jr, George Hoyt, and J. B. Houston. The total earnings for the year ending in April 1880 were \$3,586,442.58, and the net earnings over half a million.

In 1881 the Panamá railroad was sold to the Panamá canal company for about \$20,000,000, since which time affairs have proceeded with less apparent

friction. A number of new vessels have been added to the fleet of China steamers, namely, the *City of New York*, *City of Sydney*, *City of Rio de Janeiro*; to the Panamá line the *San Juan*, *San José*; and to the Occidental and Oriental line the *San Pablo*. In 1882 the Oceanic Steamship company was incorporated, of which John D. Spreckels and brothers are the general agents, and which runs between San Francisco, Auckland, and Sydney, making semi-monthly trips. Its vessels are the fine steamers, *Arabic*, *Australia*, *Zealandia*, *Mariposa*, and *Alameda*. The amount of subsidy received by the Oceanic company amounted to less than \$200,000, of which the United States paid only about \$20,000, the remainder being paid by the governments of New Zealand and New South Wales. This contract expired in November 1888, when congress assumed a more just proportion of the compensation due for carrying mails.

Of coast lines the California and Oregon steamers owned by Holladay fell into the hands of the Northern Pacific Railroad company, in 1881, and a new organization was effected under the name of the Oregon Railway and Navigation company, of which Villard was first manager, and which owned both ocean and river steamers and railroads. The steamers in use on the Oregon line after the old Pacific Mail ships were withdrawn were several small propellers, namely, the *Oriflamme*, *George W. Elder*, *City of Chester*, *Ajax*, and *Montana*. These gave place about 1880 to the *Columbia*, *State of California*, *State of Oregon*, and *Queen of the Pacific*, steamships of a size, convenience, and finish which has added much to the comfort of the voyage, and which continue to divide travel with the California and Oregon railroad. The Oregon Development company runs to Yaquina bay from San Francisco, owning the steamers *Yaquina City*, *Santa María* and *Willamette Valley*. A line was also run to Coos bay in Oregon, to which belonged the *Empire*, *Coos Bay*, and *Arcata*; and a line to Humboldt bay in

California, to which belonged the steamers *Continental* and *Humboldt*. The steamers *Los Angeles*, *Mexico*, *Salinas*, *Mary Taylor*, *Wilmington*, *Eureka*, *Pomona*, *Constantine*, *Ventura*, *Newbern*, *Kalorama*, *Monterey*, and perhaps others which have been overlooked, were employed in the coast trade in that period between 1875 and 1885, when the requirements of trade between San Francisco and the southern coast particularly, have made it necessary to transfer to that line the *Queen of the Pacific* and the *Santa Rosa*. There were built for the Pacific Coast company two fine colliers in 1885 or thereabout, neither of which are now in that service—the *Walla Walla* and the *Umatilla*, which were both stranded, but raised and refitted, and were converted into passenger steamers.

In the following list of wrecks are included those of vessels belonging to other lines as well as the Pacific Mail. In February 1852 the *General Warren*, Captain Thompson, was wrecked on the coast above the mouth of the Columbia, and forty-two lives lost. In the same month the *Sea Gull*, Captain Lichener, was struck by a heavy sea on leaving Humboldt bay, and wrecked. On the 28th of February, the same year, the *North America*, Captain Blethan, of the Nicaragua line, with 800 passengers, was wrecked on the rocks below Acapulco, by running too close in shore. The passengers were saved, but suffered severe hardships in reaching a place of refuge. In August the same year the *Pioneer*, also of the Nicaragua line and a new steamer built for Vanderbilt, was leaking badly 200 miles south of San Francisco, with 222 passengers on board, who were taken off by the *Sea Bird*. The *Pioneer* was run into St Simon's bay and repaired. The *Arispe* was wrecked off Cape Mendocino in 1852.

There were forty-seven marine disasters on the coast in 1853, the losses from which were \$1,251,000, among which were the *Tennessee*, Captain Mellus, which went ashore near the entrance to San Francisco bay, March 6th. On the 16th of the same

month the *Independence*, Captain F. A. Sampson, of the Nicaragua line, ran on the rocks north of Acapulco, and when beached took fire. The lives of 197 passengers were sacrificed, and those who escaped lost all their effects. In April the *S. S. Lewis*, Captain Sparrow, of the same line, went ashore in a fog eleven miles above the entrance to San Francisco harbor, and was totally wrecked. The passengers and crew were rescued by the United States steamer *Active*. On the 2d of December the *Winfield Scott*, Captain S. F. Blunt, struck a rock twenty-five miles southeast of Santa Bárbara, in a fog, wrecking the vessel. The passengers were saved. On the 24th of the same month, the *San Francisco*, Captain Watkins, on her way from New York to San Francisco with the 3d regiment of United States artillery on board, on the night of the 22d encountered a storm which rendered her unmanageable, and on the 24th a wave struck her which shattered her quarter deck and hurricane deck, and carried away the upper saloon filled with about 200 officers and soldiers. The damage sustained by the shock put the remaining 600 in deadly peril. For six days the passengers were only able to keep themselves alive, but finally those on board were rescued by other vessels which stood by the *San Francisco* until the storm abated, although themselves in jeopardy.

In March 1854 the *Georgia*, of the original United States Mail line, commanded by Captain McKinstry of the navy, was wrecked three days out from New York. In June 1854 the *Arispe* was lost near Point Arenas. In October the *Yankee Blade*, Captain Henry Randall, of the independent line, with 800 passengers, was wrecked fifteen miles above Point Conception, and thirty lives lost, with \$153,000 in treasure. About this time the *West Point* and the *Polynesian* were wrecked near Honolulu; the *Major Tompkins* in Fuca strait, and the *Peytonia* on the Chilean coast. In December the *Southerner*, Captain

Sampson, belonging to Captain John T. Wright, sprang a leak on Columbia bar, and was wrecked on the beach of Washington. Much hardship was suffered by the passengers in crossing the mountains. On the 24th of June 1855 the *America*, another of Wright's vessels, was burned at Crescent City. Her passengers narrowly escaped, and her cargo, worth \$140,000, was a total loss. In August 1857 the *Columbia*, the first Pacific Mail steamer on the Oregon line, was lost in the China sea. The sinking of the *Central America*, Captain Herndon, off the coast of Florida on her way to New York, with 582 passengers and \$1,500,000 in gold-dust, was one of the notable events of that year. She sprung a leak in a hurricane, and after thirty-three hours of slowly settling in the sea, went down with 419 persons, the remainder being rescued by a brig. Captain Herndon, the explorer of the Amazon, perished with his passengers. This terrible disaster caused a general bereavement in California. Little business was transacted for two days, and the criminal cupidity of the mail companies in entrusting so many lives to a ship "whose name they had been compelled to conceal"—she was formerly the *George Law*—was talked about, and that was all—none of the managers were hanged. The president of the board of supervisors called a public meeting, and a mass meeting followed, at which resolutions were adopted denouncing the companies, and offering suggestions for the safety of passengers in the future. A commercial panic in the Atlantic states was greatly increased by the loss of the treasure on the *Central America*. The *Sea Bird*, belonging to Wright, was burned near Discovery inlet in Fuca strait in the autumn of 1857. The *Gold Hunter* was early lost on the coast of South America, but I have not the date.

On the 5th of January 1860 the *Northerner*, Captain W. L. Dall, struck a rock at the entrance to Humboldt bay, and the vessel soon sank. The number of

persons lost in effecting a landing was thirty-eight, and the treasure \$14,000 in government funds. On the 14th of October the *New Granada*, Captain Hawes, of the Nicaragua line, was wrecked near Fort Point, after making the voyage out from New York in safety, the pilot being to blame. Not far from this time the *Isthmus* was lost off Cape Flattery.

In January 1862 the *Republic*, of the Mexican line to Mazatlan, was lost just outside the Golden Gate; and soon afterward the *Columbus*, running from Panamá to Acapulco, was wrecked at Punta Remedios, Central America. The following steamers were wrecked in the China seas this year: *Santa Cruz*, burned in the Yang-tse-Kiang river in February; *Union Star*, exploded at Shanghai in June; *America*, No. 2, burned at Kanagawa, Japan; and *Cortez*, burned in June. In July the *Golden Gate*, Captain W. H. Hudson, was burned near Manzanillo. The number of passengers and crew lost was 198, and the value of property and treasure engulfed was estimated at \$2,000,000. This calamity, like that of the *Central America*, cast a gloom over the whole state. In December the *Ariel* was captured by the rebel privateer *Alabama*. She was finally wrecked on the Japan coast in 1872 or 1873. The grand total of shipping losses in the Pacific ocean in 1862, including sailing vessels, was \$6,522,609.55.

On the 14th of March 1863 the *Senator*, which had "earned more money than she could float in her best days," was sunk at the entrance to San Pedro harbor, but was raised, and sailed to San Francisco in May, and was afterward rebuilt and converted into a bark, which carried lumber to New Zealand. The towing steamer in the harbor of San Pedro, the *Ada Hancock*, exploded her boiler April 27th following, killing thirty persons who were being conveyed to the ocean steamer. In November a gale in the harbor of San Francisco inflicted a good deal of damage on shipping, among lesser accidents sinking the ship *Aquila*, which had

on board the monitor *Comanche*, sent out for the defence of San Francisco, but which had not yet been put together, nor even landed. After some delay the *Aquila* was raised, and the monitor completed. There do not seem to have been any notable disasters at sea in 1864, but on the last of May 1865 the *Golden Rule*, Captain Dennis, of the Nicaragua line, on its route from New York to Greytown was wrecked on Roncador reef, thirty-five miles from the island of Old Providence. She had on board 535 passengers and 100 crew, who were all landed on the reef, where they suffered all the discomforts of shipwreck, including a lack of water. The purser made his way to Aspinwall in an open boat, being until June 6th on the sea, and the United States steamers *Huntsville* and *State of Georgia* brought the passengers to Aspinwall. It was the first voyage of the *Golden Rule*, for whose loss her captain was severely censured by the passengers. Another more terrible shipwreck was that of the *Brother Jonathan*, Captain S. J. De Wolf, July 30th, near Crescent City. In open day and clear weather the vessel, which was heavily laden with milling machinery for Idaho mines, and had a full list of passengers, struck on an unknown sunken rock, and in three-quarters of an hour had gone to the bottom. The wind being strong and sea rough, only one boat, containing sixteen persons, mostly the crew, reached the land; 150 perished. It was on this ship that George Wright and wife, E. D. Waite, James Nesbit of the San Francisco *Evening Bulletin*, and a number of well-known business men met their fate. The *Jonathan* was an old vessel refitted, and had in her the engines of the *Atlantic*, wrecked on Fire island in 1848. Her officers all went down with the ship. Over this sad event there was general mourning throughout California and Oregon.

In April 1866 the British steamer *Labouchere*, Captain W. A. Monat, struck on a reef off Point Reyes. She belonged to the Hudson's Bay company,

and had only commenced to run between Victoria and San Francisco in March. Her engines took the first prize at the London exposition of 1851. Her cargo, which was a loss, was valued at \$50,000. On the 28th day of November the British bark *Coya* was run on Pigeon point, near Half Moon bay, and 26 lives lost.

In 1867 the *Santiago de Cuba*, of the Nicaragua line, was wrecked by going ashore a few miles from Atlantic City, and six of her passengers drowned in attempting to land. The United States revenue steamer *Shubrick* went ashore in a fog near Mendocino, and was broken up. In 1868 the United States steamer *Suwanee* went ashore and was lost. The *Hermann* was wrecked off the northwest coast of the island of Nipon in the Japan sea, in 1869, when several hundred lives were lost, chiefly of Japanese soldiers. A few years later the *Ariel* was wrecked near the same spot, but without loss of life.

The steamship *Sierra Nevada*, Captain J. C. Bogert ran on a reef seventy-five miles south of Monterey, in a fog, October 17, 1869, but her passengers were saved. This put an end to a well-known and popular steamer long used in the coast trade. About this time there were burned in Chinese waters the *John T. Wright*, *Surprise*, *Martin White*, and *Willamette*. In February 1870 the *Golden City*, Captain Comstock, bound to Panamá, went ashore in the open day, at Cape Lazaro, Lower California. The passengers were landed on a wilderness coast, and nine of them lost in the effort to reach Santa María bay, twenty-five miles distant, to which the people had to walk over a desert of sand hills and chaparral. The *Golden City* was a fast and fine ship of 2,400 tons, and her captain seems to have been wholly to blame for her loss. The passengers and treasure were returned to San Francisco on the *Fidcler*, about a month after the wreck. On the 5th of June the *Active*, Captain C. E. Lyons, belonging to Holladay and Brenham, who had purchased her in 1866, missed her course in a fog when

near Cape Mendocino, and struck a sunken rock. The passengers were landed and encamped on the beach, until the *Pacific*, Captain Scholl, came to their relief. The vessel and the cargo, worth \$100,000, were lost. The *Active* was built for the government survey service in 1849. On the 19th of October the United States steamer *Saginaw*, struck on the reef around Ocean island, near Midway island coaling station. At the first blow the bottom fell out, but the ninety-three persons on board gained the island, where they had to remain until the 18th of November, when they sent the ship's gig on a voyage to Honolulu for assistance. The gig was raised ten inches amidships, and five inches at the ends, and a deck put over all, with places for the men to sit and row. The adventurers were Lieutenant William Talbot; coxswain, William Halford; master, Peter Francis, and seamen, John Andrews and James Miner. They were provided with rations for thirty-five days, consisting of some beans, rice and cooked wheat. They experienced bad weather almost from the start. Their chronometer from being knocked about and getting wet became almost useless. They lost their drag and could not steady the boat. Land was not sighted until the 16th of December, when they were unable to make it, but were buffeted about for three days, and on the 19th capsized in the surf at Hanalei bay, when Talbot, Francis, and Andrews were washed away and lost. The boat was righted by a sea, and the remaining two men got into it. Soon after Muir became delirious, and was lashed to the boat by Halford. Once more the boat was overturned, but finally came into smoother water, when Halford waded ashore, and succeeded with much effort in guiding Muir to land, after which he secured the instruments and charts. Then both men fell asleep from exhaustion, and when Halford awoke his companion was gone. In his delirium he had wandered off and died. Halford was discovered by the natives and piloted to a plantation, the American

consul informed and a vessel sent to the rescue of the *Saginaw's* crew. Halford was thirty days and fourteen hours in the boat; his body was covered with bruises and sores. The *Moses Taylor* finally brought the rescued persons to San Francisco in February 1871. In December 1871 the *Salinas* running between Santa Cruz and San Francisco was wrecked off Point San Pedro. On the 5th of December 1872 the *Sacramento*, Captain Farnsworth, with 246 passengers, went ashore on Geronimo island, Lower California. The passengers and a part of the treasure were saved. For five days the people were encamped on a barren shore in tents improvised from sails and table linen. They were finally taken off by the *Montana* from San Diego.

The *George S. Wright*, Captain Buislay, was lost in the winter of 1872-3 in Charlotte Island sound, on her way down from Sitka, with between thirty and forty souls on board. It was not known whether she foundered from striking on a sunken rock, or exploded her boilers. From subsequent revelations it appeared that some witnesses might have been saved to tell the story of her disaster, had not the Indians murdered them for the sake of plunder. The *Wright* was built in Puget sound, and was purchased by the Western Union Telegraph company, and at the time of her loss belonged to Holladay.

The *Prince Alfred*, Captain Scholl, went ashore near Point Reyes, June 14, 1874, and was broken up. No lives were lost. She was from Central American ports, and purchased by John Rosenfeld and others in 1870 to run between San Francisco and Victoria. The same year the *Costa Rica*, running in the Honolulu mail line, struck on the rocks on the north side of the Golden Gate, but was hauled off and repaired. On the 22d of September 1874 the large steamer *Alaska*, Captain Van Sice, was carried ashore by a typhoon in the China sea, but was uninjured, although thousands of persons lost their lives by the storm.

The *Japan*, Captain Warsaw, was burned on the 17th of December 1875, within eight hours' sail of Hongkong. She carried 557 passengers, 414 of whom, mostly Chinese, were lost. The treasure was saved; the mails and cargo were burned. The *Ventura*, Captain Leland, formerly the United States steamer *Resaca*, but belonging to Goodall, Nelson and Perkins, struck on a rock twenty-five miles below Monterey April 20, 1875, and became a total loss, without loss of life. On the night of the 4th of November of this year the *Pacific*, another steamer of the same line, commanded by J. D. Howell, a brother-in-law of Jefferson Davis, and a midshipman on the *Alabama*, carrying 238 passengers, was run down by a sailing vessel, the *Orpheus*, Captain Sawyer, just after coming out of the Fuca strait. From the narration of Henry L. Jelly, one of only two survivors, the collision was the result of inattention to duty of both captains. In three-quarters of an hour the *Pacific* sank to the depths of the ocean, but the *Orpheus* passed on, and although injured, survived the shock which sent a rotten steamer to the bottom.

In December 1876 the propeller *Montana*, Captain Douglas, which was sold by Holladay to the Pacific Mail company, and by them to the Colorado Steam Navigation company, was burned at Guaymas. There were twenty-five other disasters to different steam vessels on the coast in 1876 that were not total losses. Of those that were, there was the *Kalorama*, which went ashore at San Buenventura in February; the *Fideler*, which ran on the rocks at Point Arenas April 3d; and the *Messenger*, which was burned at Coos bay in October of 1876. None of the wrecks involved the loss of life.

The *City of San Francisco*, a new vessel of the Pacific Mail line, commanded by Captain Waddell, left New York in September 1875 for San Francisco. She struck, May 16, 1877, an unknown rock in latitude 16° 6' north latitude, and in sixty-two minutes

had foundered. Her two hundred passengers were saved by a Mexican gunboat, which carried them to Acapulco, where the *Costa Rica* took them on to San Francisco. The *City of San Francisco* cost \$800,000. Not long before this the *Bienville*, chartered, and the *City of Guatemala* had been lost; also the *Continental*, in the Mexican trade. Eight lives were lost in the latter wreck. The *Constitution*, which cost in 1861 about \$1,000,000, was for a year in government service, arriving out on this coast in August 1862. From 1872 to 1874 she was laid up, but put on her route again after being repaired. In 1877 she began running to Victoria, Captain Seabury in command, but returning took fire, and so came into the harbor of San Francisco, with fifty passengers and \$67,000 in treasure. This was the closing scene of her usefulness.

The *Georgia*, which had been built during the war, and purchased afterward by Clyde, was wrecked in the straits of Magellan June 23, 1876, on the way to California, but was repaired and put on the Panamá line with her consort, the *Wilmington*, in 1877. On the 30th of September 1878, Captain Howard being in command, she was run on a reef and sunk to her hurricane deck off Punta Arenas, Central America. She had ninety-seven passengers on board, who were taken back to Panamá, and brought to San Francisco on the *Colima*.

On the 19th of April 1879 the *Great Republic*, Captain Carrol, was run aground on Sand island inside the bar of the Columbia, and became a total wreck, eleven lives being lost in the attempt to reach Astoria from the vessel. There were whispers of conspiracy in connection with the loss of the *Great Republic*, and whether true or false, it must ever remain a mystery to those who know the channels how the ship came to be where she was grounded. She was built by Henry Steers of New York for the China trade, and cost nearly \$1,500,000 in 1857. In 1878 she was sold

for the nominal price of \$25,000, and put in the Portland trade, but was too large for the river. She was insured for \$80,000.

It is not pretended that a complete list of the steamship losses of twenty-seven years is here given. But who would have it more? What an amount of money is represented in these sixty-eight wrecks, every one costing from \$250,000 to \$1,000,000, and some more than that! Let us say that the vessels all together were worth when they were destroyed \$31,000,000. Then let us say that the treasure lost was only half as much, and that the cargoes which went to the bottom were worth as much as the treasure. Add to that sum the individual losses to passengers of money and effects, from a few hundreds to several thousands—for in almost every case passengers lost everything, even when they escaped with their lives—and the sum total could not fall short of sixty or seventy millions, while it might have been much more. And then the lives sacrificed—2,397 that I have here enumerated! It is an appalling record. The question arises, was it unavoidable? The accounts given show that in a large majority of cases of steamer wrecks the cause was running upon rocks, reefs, or the shore itself. It is plain that these vessels should have kept out to sea when not compelled to call at ports on their route. This part of our history is not very creditable, and shows that ordinary discretion is as much needed as the advancement of science, applied to navigation. It shows also the enormous drain made upon California during many years; for the money losses and bereavements fell heavily upon the young state; and it is a surprising manifest of what transportation in this single form has cost California.

CHAPTER VII.

LIVES OF THE VANDERBILTS.

CORNELIUS VANDERBILT THE ELDER—FAMILY ANCESTRY—CORNEILLE THE BOATMAN—CALIFORNIA STEAMSHIP LINE—INVESTMENTS IN RAILROADS—WILLIAM H. VANDERBILT—BANKER AND FARMER—RAILROAD CAREER—ORIGINALITY AND BOLDNESS OF ENTERPRISE—THE VANDERBILT SYSTEM—CORNELIUS VANDERBILT THE YOUNGER—NEW RAILWAY MANAGEMENT—SYSTEMATIC CHARITIES—LIBRARY AND ART COLLECTION—MARRIAGE—THE POWER OF POSSESSION.

IN the preceding pages the name of Vanderbilt frequently occurs in connection with Atlantic and Pacific ocean traffic; the present chapter will be devoted specially to the history of his life, and those of his successors.

IN addition to his great ocean enterprises, the first Cornelius Vanderbilt was among the foremost to grasp the possibilities of the modern system of interior communication; to foresee and bring to pass the mighty results that have followed the consolidation of competing lines and of rival interests, in short the creation of the great railroad systems of to-day. Already in the possession of enormous wealth, of many years' experience in the movement of passengers and freight, aided moreover by an energy and genius that never failed of success, he entered the field at a time when the rarest of opportunities lay within reach of him who could see and appropriate them.

While one of the most successful men in the world, Mr Vanderbilt was succeeded by a son and a grandson, both preëminently qualified to continue the work. In Cornelius Vanderbilt the younger, appeared qualities

that were fully recognized, and which indeed compelled recognition.

By some the enormous accumulation of wealth in the hands of the Vanderbilts, at one time exceeding \$200,000,000, has been regarded as an evil to mankind. By such men the millionaire is considered as an oppressor of his race, one by whom labor is impoverished and industry paralyzed. There are others who contend that the aggregation of wealth in the hands of individuals is a blessing rather than a curse; for without it there could be no such improvements as the present century has witnessed. Without it there could be neither railroads nor steamships, neither telegraphs nor telephones, neither schools nor churches, neither literature nor art; in a word there could be no civilization. Not to him who squanders his substance does the community owe most, but to him who saves and invests, whose property, instead of being wasted, is reproduced and multiplied.

What is civilization, they argue, but the results of labor set in motion by wealth, the wealth acquired by skill and foresight, by thrift and self-denial? So far from being a menace to the people, millionaires and sometimes even monopolies are a public benefit; and nowhere is this more clearly exemplified than in the case of the New York Central railroad, formed by the consolidation of many lines, and for more than a quarter of a century under the control of the Vanderbilts. Just as the owner of a dozen stores can perhaps sell goods cheaper than he who owns but one, just as the owner of a score of steamships can run them cheaper than he who owns a single vessel, so can the New York Central carry passengers at lower rates than any line on this continent, can carry freight so cheaply that it has driven from competition even the boats that plied on the Erie canal, built by the state and free for the use of all. Nowhere perhaps in the world has a railroad been managed with

such economy and efficiency as the Vanderbilt system. Such arguments, after all, only show that money and power may be put to a good or a bad use.

It was in the days of Governor Stuyvesant, about the middle of the seventeenth century, when the common ancestor of this long descended family, Jan Aertsen Van der Bilt, came with the Knickerbockers to the western world. Jan was thrice married, the patronymic of his second wife, Diesber Cornelius, being given, three generations later, to him who was destined to play a leading part in the greatest shipping and railroad enterprises of the age. To one of his sons, named Jacob, he sold or presented a tract of land in Staten island, probably acquired from the Indians, and taking to wife one Neeltje (Cornelia) Denyse, the latter founded another branch of the family, becoming the father of eleven children.

About this time a party of Moravian refugees took ship for Staten island, forming there amid the primeval wilderness, the settlement of New Dorp. Of this sect Jacob and his family were among the strongest supporters, building at their own expense a vessel with which to assist the emigration of the brethren from Germany. To his eldest son, also called Jacob, seven children were born, the youngest of whom, named Cornelius, was the father of him whose career forms the groundwork of my sketch.

For nearly two centuries, generation after generation of the Vanderbilts had lived on their sterile island farm, had lived in contentment, though perhaps with less of the real comforts of life than at the present day fall to the average lot of mechanics. During all these years they had tilled the soil and planted it, had garnered their scanty harvests, had pastured their cattle and milked their cows, without in the least concerning themselves about the great world beyond. For them the busy city across the bay had no attractions; they coveted not its wealth;

they cared not for its amusements; they had absolutely no ambition in life except to earn an humble livelihood, to pay their debts, and to attend with regularity their little Moravian meeting-house. But then the family tree was to bear fruit of another description in the person of a man destined for a brilliant career of accumulation, of the rolling up of riches; one who would stamp his impress on the commercial activities of the time, would add to the sum of the nation's wealth and his own more than had ever been imagined in his fondest dreams. That man was Cornelius Vanderbilt.

A farm near Stapleton landing was the birthplace of Mr Vanderbilt, and the day the 27th of May 1794. The house where he was born was a one-story five-roomed edifice, shingled, and with dormer windows, on the eastern slope of Staten island, only a few feet above high water mark, and so near to the beach that the garden lawn was washed by the tides. Here he developed rapidly into a hardy and vigorous boy, tall, strong, and muscular, an expert swimmer, a fearless rider, one who could sail a boat, handle tools, and in fact could do or learn almost anything except his lessons. School and school-books were to him an abomination; and though as vigorous in mind as in body, he could never be induced to study; he would work rather, though of course, like other lads, he preferred above all things out-door sports.

But if Cornelius hated school he loved the water. At an early age we find him sailing the periauger, a two-masted boat of primitive construction, in which his father carried his produce to market. At twelve he was intrusted with the work of a man, often being sent in charge of teams to superintend the unloading of shipwrecked vessels. At sixteen he was intent on going to sea, and to do so must run away from home, for at that date a boy was bound by custom as well as by law to work for his father until the age of twenty-one. But from this he was dissuaded by his

mother, who promised him a hundred dollars with which to buy a periauger of his own, on condition that he should plough and plant with corn an eight-acre lot so full of rocks that it had never before been worked. This he accomplished in the time agreed upon, and with money in hand made haste to secure the coveted prize, a brand new boat which lay moored to the dock at the Port Richmond shore. The incident he remembered until the day of his death. "Never," he remarked, "did I feel so much real satisfaction as on that bright May morning, sixty years ago, when I stepped into my own periauger, hoisted my own sail, and laid my hand on my own tiller."

At this time the fortifications of Long and Staten islands were being rapidly pushed forward by the government; for relations with England were strained, and war seemed almost inevitable. Laborers must be carried to and from New York, and with other traffic gave to Cornelius abundant work. But one thing troubled him. The money for his boat had been furnished by his mother, and must be repaid with all possible despatch. Working sixteen hours a day therefore, and saving from his earnings every cent that could be spared, he quickly laid by the required sum, and without a word laid it in his mother's lap. This was probably the proudest day in his life.

By ceaseless toil and strict economy the young man gradually added to his savings and extended his business until, at eighteen, he was captain and part owner of one of the largest periaugers in New York harbor, in addition to his interest in other vessels. Throughout the war of 1812 he held a contract to carry provisions to the several forts, and this he did at night after a hard day's work, loading at the battery when his other duties were performed. So reliable was he, and withal so daring and skillful, that 'Corneile the boatman,' as he was styled, was

always the first one called upon for any task involving special difficulty or danger. Thus when during a severe storm the British fleet was repulsed off Sandy Hook, and reënforcements must be had in case of another attack, Cornelius was sent for to carry the messengers to headquarters. Arriving on the ground, a staff officer asked him whether a boat could live in such a sea. "It can," he said, "if properly handled." "Then will you take us to the battery?" "Yes, but I shall have to carry you part of the way under water." He did so, and when the party landed at the slip there was not a dry thread among them.

It was a gruesome storm; but a promise once made, not even the rage of the elements could prevent him from carrying it out. The qualities which he displayed as a boatman were the same which marked his later career as a railroad millionaire, the power of doing and the will to do whatsoever he undertook. Throughout that career he was guided by self-established rules, by a strength of purpose that varied not, by a resolve as immutable as the rising and setting of the sun. Once he had determined on a given course, there was no such thing as looking back. At all hazards he would carry out his project to its legitimate conclusion, and that with an energy that was satisfied only with success. Nor was he ever doubtful of success; for like all men, intensely determined to accumulate, he was conscious of his own powers, conscious of his ability to make and to hold as much or more than any other man.

During the war Cornelius found many opportunities for making money; or if he did not find them he made them. At eighteen he had become the owner of two sea-going craft, and the captain of a third. To these additions were made from time to time, as means and opportunity offered, now a sloop and now a schooner; so that when balancing his books on New Year's eve of 1817, he found himself, at twenty-

three, worth \$9,000 in cash, in addition to his little fleet of vessels. During all these years he had turned his hand to whatever he could find to do so long as it brought in money, transporting freight and passengers, trading, and even peddling; at one time carrying boat-loads of fish up and down the shore, and at another cargoes of melons which he sold wherever he could find a purchaser. Meanwhile he had introduced many improvements in the science of ship-building, and his models and methods were discussed and imitated by the most experienced masters of the craft.

When the success of Fulton's experiment was assured, Mr Vanderbilt took passage on one of his steamers to Albany, and after observing closely the working of her engines and machinery, came to the conclusion that, in the navigation of the future, the sail would be largely superseded by steam. Acting on this conviction with his usual promptitude, he at once gave up his coasting business, disposed of his vessels, and though making at this time from \$2,000 to \$3,000 a year, accepted the captaincy of a tiny steamboat at a salary of \$1,000 in order to learn the business. The name of the craft was the *Mouse of the Mountain*, and of her owner, Thomas Gibbons, a man of means and enterprise who for many years waged a bitter war with Fulton & Livingston, to whom had been granted by the state of New York the exclusive right of running steamers on all the waters within its jurisdiction. After a seven years' struggle the dispute was decided by Chief-justice Marshall in favor of Gibbons, on the ground that the privilege was unconstitutional.

After running the *Mouse of the Mountain* for about a year, in 1818 a larger steamer named the *Bellona* was built under his supervision, and with others placed on the line between New York and Philadelphia. In the following advertisement, which appeared

on the 15th of September, 1826, the route is more fully described:

UNION LINE
FOR PHILADELPHIA AND BALTIMORE
THROUGH
TO PHILADELPHIA IN ONE DAY!

TWENTY-FIVE MILES OF LAND CARRIAGE, BY NEW BRUNSWICK,
PRINCETON, AND TRENTON.

The splendid new steamer *Emerald*, Captain C. Vanderbilt, leaves the wharf, north side of Battery, at 12 o'clock noon every day, Sunday excepted. Travellers will lodge at Trenton, and arrive at Philadelphia by steamboat at 10 o'clock next morning!

FARE ONLY THREE DOLLARS.

At this date the Gibbons line was entirely under the control of Mr Vanderbilt, who by careful management, by keeping down expenses, by discharging all unnecessary help, and above all by making his trips on time, had brought it to a paying basis. While thus employed he had found time to make a careful study of the build and machinery of steamboats, observing their defects and considering how best to remedy them. And now his attention was drawn to the rich traffic of the Hudson and Long Island sound, which, as he perceived, could be largely expanded with better facilities for transportation. Resigning his position therefore—although offered on his own terms a half interest in the Gibbons line, then earning \$40,000 a year—in 1829 he started in business for himself.

Fulton was long since dead; but the invention which he introduced had been followed by a vast commercial development, by an enormous increase in the volume of traffic, and especially of steamboat traffic; for it was not until many years later that the railroad came into active competition. Among those who controlled this traffic were many men richer and more experienced than Vanderbilt, such men as Stevens of Hoboken, and Daniel Drew of New York; but all were compelled to give way before his superior enterprise and sagacity. By constructing larger, faster,

and more commodious boats, by availing himself of all the latest appliances for speed and comfort, and by cutting down rates to the lowest figures that would return a profit, he quickly overcame all rivalry, either securing a monopoly of the more desirable trade, or compelling those who held such monopoly to buy him off.

For twenty years he was engaged in building steamers and establishing steamboat lines, reaching out in all directions, on the Hudson, on Long Island sound, southward to Philadelphia, and northward to New Haven, Providence, and Boston. To insure the success of these enterprises, he brought to bear all the resources of his keen and comprehensive intellect, of his financial genius, and his marvellous energy, taxing to the utmost his phenomenal capacity for work. Thus at the age of forty he had at least a score of vessels in commission, all of them of superior pattern, and competing successfully with old established lines. It was about this time that the title of Commodore was bestowed upon him, following the American fashion in this regard, half compliment, half slang, his success in rolling up wealth tending to make permanent that which was started only as a joke. None of his steamers were insured, for, as he remarked, "good vessels and good captains are the best insurance. If corporations can make money by insuring, so can I."

In 1850 his operations were extended to a much wider field, embracing indeed almost the entire continent. At that date the Isthmus traffic, then of enormous dimensions, was in the hands of the Pacific Mail steamship company, which ran its steamers to and from either shore, charging for its execrable service \$600 a trip. "I can make money at half that rate," said Vanderbilt, "taking my passengers by Lake Nicaragua, and saving at least seven hundred miles of distance." Building a large steamer, named the *Prometheus*, he sailed in her for the Nicaragua coast, and selected his transit route, from Grey-

town to San Juan del sur. In the following year he placed three steamers on the Atlantic side, and four on the Pacific. In 1853 three others were added to the fleet, and a branch line established from New Orleans to Greytown, with smaller vessels on Lake Nicaragua and the Rio San Juan. With its cheaper fares and shorter distances, with its more attractive scenery, and above all with its more healthful climate the Nicaragua route quickly came into favor, and for a time the rush of travel was enormous, yielding, it was estimated, a net revenue of more than \$1,000,000 a year.

Thus it was that for nearly half a century Mr. Vanderbilt knew no rest from labor. He was approaching three-score years of age and was reputed to be worth at least \$10,000,000, although the exact amount of his wealth was unknown, probably even to himself. At least he could afford himself a rest, and this he resolved to take, selling a controlling interest in the Nicaragua route to the Accessory Transit company. In 1853, accompanied by his family, he sailed for Europe on board the steam-yacht *North Star*, a vessel of two thousand tons burthen, and the largest of the kind that had ever been constructed. Its equipments were on a magnificent scale, with its main saloon lined with satin-wood; its staterooms upholstered in green and gold, in crimson and orange; its berths supplied with the costliest of lace curtains; its furniture of rosewood, covered with figured-plush velvet; and its spacious dining-room, whose walls were covered with a preparation of ligneous marble, polished to mirror-like brightness.

As a specimen of what could be accomplished under republican institutions, it was in truth a revelation to the people of Europe; for here was the largest steamer then afloat, an ocean palace, built entirely on American models, by American workmen, and commanded by a man who from a lowly sphere in life

had risen to be one of the wealthiest and most dominating men of the New World. At every port where the vessel called its owner was received with honors befitting the progress of an American nobleman. At Southampton, St Petersburg, Boulogne, Marseilles, Genoa, Naples, Athens, Constantinople, he was féted, feasted, saluted, and visited by many of the notable men of the land, including even the representatives of royalty. Returning home after a four months' trip, the yacht was rounded to in front of Stapleton landing, where still resided his aged mother, and to whose hundred dollars, spared from her scanty savings to buy his first periauger, he owed his success in life. After firing a formal salute, he paid her a somewhat lengthy and what proved to be a farewell visit, for three months later she died, invoking with her dying breath a blessing on her prosperous and well-beloved son.

But glad as Mr Vanderbilt was to return to the scene of his labors and his victories, he found a bitter disappointment awaiting him, and the more bitter since it came from men whom he had befriended and enriched. The directors of the Transit company, all of whom had become wealthy through the profits of the Nicaragua route, refused to pay him his share, as he very strongly asserted. To enforce his claim by process of law would be an international affair, and one involving great expense of time and money. What he resolved to do was this, and as his message was of the briefest, I will give it in his own words: "Gentlemen," he wrote, "you have undertaken to cheat me. I won't sue you, for law is too slow. I will ruin you." And he did so; placing on the route a fleet of steamers which soon drove the company into bankruptcy.

For some years longer Mr Vanderbilt prosecuted his hold on the steamer traffic with California, whereby it is said that he accumulated a further sum of \$10,000,000. Meanwhile he had engaged in what was

in this direction the crowning enterprise of his career. At the time of his return from Europe war had been declared between England and Russia, and one of the first measures of the British government was to charter the Cunard steamers for the transportation of troops. This gave to the Collins line the entire service between New York and Liverpool, for which a subsidy had been granted of \$33,000 a trip. But the service was inadequate, and to supply the deficiency Mr Vanderbilt proposed to form a partnership with Collins, and to place at his disposal two additional vessels. The proposition was rejected, for no apparent reason except the timidity of the latter, whereupon Vanderbilt offered to carry the mails for \$16,000 a trip, the subsidy allowed the Cunard line.

But the Collins influence was strong in congress, and Cornelius Vanderbilt was informed that if he wished to run his steamers across the Atlantic he must run them at his own expense. This he resolved to do, and building what were then the three fastest steamers in the world, among them the famous *Vanderbilt*, established a new line between New York and Havre. Then came the long-remembered ocean race between the *Arabia* and *Persia* of the Collins line, and the *Vanderbilt* and *Ariel* of its competitor, resulting, with rare exceptions, in the defeat of the former. During all this time Mr Vanderbilt was preparing for his coup de main, which at one fell stroke should annihilate the foe. "Gentlemen," said Napoleon, on the eve of Austerlitz, "we shall end this campaign with a thunder-clap." And like a thunder-clap fell on the man of subsidy the news that his rival had offered to carry the mails for nothing. A few months later the long-established Collins line disappeared forever from the face of ocean.

But after a fair trial, and a thorough study of the business and its prospects, Mr Vanderbilt came to

the conclusion that "it would not pay to push it" in the face of European competition. The Crimean war was ended and the Cunard line was re-established, with others threatened or already in existence. Moreover, civil war was imminent, and to a man of his foresight and sagacity, its effect on the shipping interest could not be doubtful. Thus, before the outbreak of the rebellion, he had disposed of many of his vessels, and at the close of the war all of them, investing the bulk of his means, then estimated at from \$30,000,000 to \$40,000,000, in railroads.

But his favorite vessel, the *Vanderbilt*, the finest merchant steamer then afloat in American or other waters, he devoted to the service of his country. The destruction wrought by the *Merrimac* in Hampton roads had caused the direst perplexity at Washington, and to meet the emergency Mr Vanderbilt was summoned to the White house. "Will you undertake," asked Abraham Lincoln, "to stop that rebel ram and keep her away; if so what will be your terms?" Vanderbilt well knew that he could do better than to drive a hard bargain with the government at this juncture. So he said, "I am not the man to make money out of my country's misfortunes. But I have a ship which I think will give a good account of that devil. If you will man her I will take command myself. My only condition is that I shall not be interfered with by the navy department." Two days afterward he was steaming into the mouth of James river, somewhat to the astonishment of the admiral in command, who wondered what ship was this whose shadow crept like a dark looming cloud over the water.

After showing his credentials he was asked what he intended to do in case the *Merrimac* should make her appearance. "Run her down," he said, "strike her amidships and sink her." "And how can I help you?" "Only by keeping out of the way." But the *Merrimac* did not appear, and returning home he

offered the use of his vessel to the government until the conclusion of the war. The offer was most graciously accepted, and equipped as a cruiser the *Vanderbilt* made a twelve months' cruise in search of the *Alabama*, returning so badly strained that her engines were taken out and the craft disposed of to a New York shipping firm. Under the name of the *Three Brothers* the vessel made several trips around the Horn, and many a cargo of wheat has she borne from the port of San Francisco.

And how did a grateful nation requite these services, this proud and patriotic loan of the fastest and most powerful merchant steamer afloat, valued at more than a million dollars in currency? They appropriated his vessel, whether by design or misunderstanding does not appear, but certain it is that the *Vanderbilt* was commissioned as belonging to the United States navy. And in return the national legislature presented her owner with a vote of thanks and a twenty-five dollar medal, "which shall fitly embody an attestation of the nation's gratitude."

At the close of the war Mr Vanderbilt had already passed the age which the psalmist allotted as the span of human life. By his friends he was urged to retire from business and pass in quiet the brief remainder of his days; but, as a fact, he was at this moment entering upon the most brilliant epoch of his career. For years he had controlled the commercial marine of the Atlantic coast, and now he was to control its railroads. And here it should be remarked that he was not, in the common acceptance of the term, a railroad speculator. He was not even a member of the stock exchange, and if at times he appeared to speculate, it was to outwit and counteract the manipulations of others. He claimed to buy what he bought as an investment, and not on fictitious values; yet he bought and sold all the same. Says one who has made a thorough study of his life and

character: "He bought opportunities and sold achievements. He bought roads that were thriftless and in disorder, and he sold them when they had become models of order and thrift; or oftener he did not sell them at all, because he could make them pay more than anybody else." In the few words of advice which he once gave to a friend, words that have since passed into a proverb, is a world of experience and common sense. "Never buy anything that you don't want, and never sell anything that you have not got."

As early as 1844 Mr Vanderbilt became interested in railroads, his first purchases being in the New York and New Haven road. Foreseeing the growth of the metropolis and the great prospective value of a line which led from the north and west directly into its heart, a few years later he began to invest freely in the Harlem railroad, of which in 1857 he was appointed a director, and in 1863 its president. And well it was for the shareholders that he consented to give to it the benefit of his executive ability. At the former date the condition of affairs was simply deplorable. Through incompetent and dishonest management its credit was seriously impaired, its equipment was unserviceable, and its roadbed as shaky as its stock, which was then slow of sale at \$3 a share. Under the new order of things it gradually rose to \$7 or \$8 in 1860, and to \$10 or \$12 early in 1863. When it became known that Mr Vanderbilt had advanced a large sum of money on the security of the road, its stock rose almost at a bound to \$30, and in April of the same year to \$50, under a rumor that some new franchise was to be granted, though exactly what no one could tell. A few days later an ordinance was passed by the city council of New York, permitting the construction of a street railroad from its terminus to the Battery. The next morning Harlem sold at

\$75, and a week or two later at \$100. But the end was not yet.

In June certain of the aldermen took council together, and as they thought, saw a good opportunity to fill their purses by selling the stock for future delivery, or, in Wall street phrase, by shorting it, and then after repealing the ordinance buying it at much lower figures. Of course each one confided the secret to his confidential friends, and these again to other friends, until hundreds of men were throwing Harlem on the market. Their scheme was quickly detected by the president; but still he sent in his orders to buy, taking, in fact, nearly all the shares that were offered, until the so-called bears had sold more stock than existed. Then the ordinance was rescinded, and at the same moment an injunction was issued by the court forbidding the company to continue laying its rails. And now it was supposed that Harlem would drop below \$50 a share; but no such collapse occurred. On the contrary a day of reckoning was at hand for those who had sold what they did not possess.

After falling to \$70 the stock rebounded to nearly its former figures, and there after some fluctuations it remained. The bears made haste to cover or fill their contracts; but they could not fill; for no one but the president had any shares for sale. Up went the stock, \$5, \$10, and \$20 in a day, until at the end of a week it reached \$170. Loud were the wailings of the aldermen, and sore their consternation at what they denounced as "the sharp practice of the commodore." But the commodore was inexorable, and the more so because their machinations had been directed against himself. When the final settlement was made, Mr Vanderbilt had relieved the members of the council of \$1,000,000, and their associates of several additional millions. The aldermen were at length convinced that there were surer roads to wealth than shorting the Vanderbilt stocks.

To relate the story of Mr Vanderbilt's railroad operators would require many times the space allotted to this biography. Moreover, that story has been a hundred times repeated; how he secured the control of the Hudson River road, of the New York Central, of the Lake Shore and Michigan; how in the famous deal in Erie he drove to the wall such veteran operators as James Fisk, Jay Gould, and Daniel Drew. But in all these transactions his main object was to acquire control of the road, and by improving his property to make of it a paying investment. His methods of railroad management have thus been briefly summarized. First, buy your railroad; second, stop the stealing that was going on under the former management; third, improve it in every practicable way within a reasonable expenditure; fourth, consolidate it with any other road with which it can be run economically; fifth, make it pay dividends.

Perhaps the crowning enterprise of his railroad career was the one whereby the northern railroads were brought into the very heart of the metropolis. From the New York legislature he obtained a charter permitting the construction of an immense depot on Forty-second street and Fourth avenue, with the use of the avenue as far as Harlem, for a series of viaduct or underground tracks for the Harlem, the Central and Hudson River, and the New Haven and Boston lines. On the construction of these tunnels, bridges, and viaducts \$6,500,000 was expended; a hundred and fifty trains passed through or over them daily, the entire work being considered a marvel of engineering skill.

If by his railroad ventures Mr Vanderbilt more than doubled his immense fortune, it was because he had the perception and skill to detect and make such changes as were needed in railroad management, and possessed the means wherewith to make them. Observing that a number of lines were struggling for existence

under the most adverse circumstances, and under various managements, he consolidated them, and thus made to pay as a whole roads which could not be worked singly at a profit. This, with his rare financial ability, and with a capital of from \$30,000,000 to \$40,000,000 at his command, he could easily accomplish without taking risks and without any gambling in mere certificates of value. When asked the secret of his success, he replied on one occasion; "I pay for what I buy and only sell what I have got." And on another: "I never tell anybody what I am going to do until I have done it."

No less remarkable than his success was the ease with which he superintended his vast and manifold affairs. Though an early riser, it was not until ten or eleven o'clock that he reached his office at West Fourth street, where, with the aid of a single clerk, he transacted in an hour or two the entire business of the day. The routine of office work he could not tolerate, always leaving it to men whom he could trust, and of whom he required only the net results, keeping his personal accounts in a book which he carried in his pocket, or more often keeping them in his head, but always managing them without apparent effort. Letter-writing he also disliked, though in dictating a letter he had few equals. If among his despatches there were any that contained more than a dozen lines, he would toss them impatiently to his clerk, saying; "Here, see what this man is driving at and tell me the gist of it." Money he never kept on hand to any considerable amount, investing it within a day or two after it was received, and making his arrangements beforehand so as to get from it all that it would earn. Like other millionaires of his day he did not despise small economies, and the same man who expended half a million in a yachting excursion would group into one a score of stock certificates in order to save a stamp tax of twenty-five cents. His business over, he left it strictly in the

office, never allowing it to interfere with his recreation, which consisted mainly of an afternoon drive behind the fastest team in New York, and in the evening a game of whist at one of the three clubs of which he was a member.

Mr Vanderbilt was not all disposed to underrate himself, or place a limit on his powers of accumulation. Looking back on his career, he boasted one day: "I have made on an average a million dollars every year of my life, and each million has been worth at least three millions to the people of the United States." There was some truth in the boast. On retiring from the shipping business, instead of placing his \$30,000,000 or \$40,000,000 at interest, and remaining content with the income, he looked around him for some investment that would benefit his country, and this he found in the railroads of his native state. He found them crippled by the war, by speculation and bad management, and piecing together the shattered and isolated fragments, he equipped them anew, furnished them when needed with new road-beds and new rolling-stock, reduced their rates, increased their traffic, and by various improvements brought his system to a foremost place in the locomotive traffic of the world. His main line was nearly a thousand miles in length, representing with its branches a capital of \$150,000,000, of which he owned in person more than one-half.

Now over four-score years of age, Mr Vanderbilt was still a noble specimen of physical and intellectual manhood. Tall in stature, but erect as a grenadier, and in carriage stately and dignified, his eye was still bright and clear, his step elastic, and in his fine and expressive features were but few traces of the touch of time. With his eleven children and his thirty-three grandchildren gathered around him, he looked like one of the patriarchs of old, and a power indeed he was for good or ill, for he had accomplished more

in his way than any living man, and still went on accomplishing, refusing to stay his hand until death confronted him.

In May 1876 he was seized with the last and only serious illness of his life, or rather with a complication of ailments, to which his iron constitution long refused to yield. All through this centennial summer, autumn, and far into the winter he did battle with the foe. More than once his life was despaired of, the pulse growing feeble, the extremities cold, and the heart almost ceasing to beat. Still he rallied, even when the physicians had declared that his hours were numbered, and when all the family had bid him, as they thought, a last farewell. But at length came the end. After recovering from a severe relapse, on the afternoon of the 3d of January he was wheeled into the sitting-room, which for months he had not been allowed to visit, and at the time appeared in excellent spirits. Returning to his chamber he rested quietly until two in the morning, when a change for the worse occurred. A few hours later he passed away, peacefully and almost painlessly, surrounded by his descendants to the third generation, on all of whom he invoked the blessing of him before whose tribunal he was about to appear.

Of the enormous fortune bequeathed by Cornelius Vanderbilt, amounting to more than \$100,000,000, nearly \$90,000,000 were left to his eldest son, and one-half of the remainder to his heirs, but with ample provision for his wife, his remaining children, and certain of his relatives. It was remarked that in his will nothing was set aside for charities; but in his lifetime there had been an endowment of \$1,000,000 for the Vanderbilt university at Nashville. Promiscuous alms-giving came not naturally to him; he took no great pleasure in doling out to paupers; if he must give, let it be done all at once. Hap-hazard charity encourages the idle to live at the expense of those who



W. L. Vanderbilt

are industrious and economical, and that the only way to help such men is by teaching them to help themselves.

Mr Vanderbilt was twice married, first, at the age of nineteen, to Miss Sophia Johnson, a woman of strong and noble qualities, and like himself of simple tastes and habits, one whose happiest days were spent in the Staten island home which her husband built, and in the company of the thirteen children whom she bore to him. A year or two after her decease, which occurred in August 1868, he took for his second wife Miss Frank A. Crawford, a southern woman of a religious turn of mind, who was influenced and praised by her religious admirers. Says Doctor Deems, who was for many years his spiritual adviser, "the religious germ implanted in his youth was to be developed under the kindly cultivation of a younger nature, strange to his antecedent career. It was the mission of his second wife to develop the intrinsic goodness of his soul, and to inspire the benevolent deeds that crowned his later years."

And now from the career of Cornelius Vanderbilt, let us turn to that of his eldest son, who proved himself in all respects a most worthy successor to him whose fortune he inherited, and whose enterprises he carried to a still more perfect fruition.

William Henry Vanderbilt was born at New Brunswick, in the state of New Jersey, on the 8th of May 1821. For several years he attended the district school, and later the Columbia grammar school, New York, where at seventeen he completed his education. At eighteen he began life as a clerk in the banking house of Drew, Robinson, and company, of which the senior member was Daniel Drew. As yet he had given no proof of the accumulative qualities that distinguished him in after life, and by his father was regarded as a youth of no very special promise. But for that very reason he set to work with the greater

energy, toiling from morning to night, rapidly mastering the details of the business, and thus recommending himself to the favor of his employers. That he did so is sufficiently proved by the rapid increase in his salary from \$150 the first year to \$1,000 in the third, and by the prospect of a partnership which, if not actually promised, was certainly in contemplation.

Meanwhile he had married the daughter of the Reverend Samuel Kissam, clergyman of a reformed Dutch church in the suburbs of Albany. The choice proved in all respects a most fortunate one, and for five and forty years he found in her who shared his lot a blessing greater than all his riches. As yet, however, he was anything but rich; for his salary was something less than \$20 a week, and on this they lived for a time at a boarding-house on East Broadway.

But it was not as a banker that William was destined to make his mark in life. His health, at best somewhat delicate, had been seriously impaired by long confinement to the desk, so that his father was warned by the family physician that, unless he were removed from the bank, he would probably sink into an early grave. Thereupon the elder Vanderbilt presented to his son a farm of seventy acres of level land on the southeast shore of Staten island, without stump or stone, but with a soil of thin, sandy loam, requiring the most thorough tillage and fertilization. Here for more than twenty years the young couple lived, in a plain two-story house, resembling somewhat the Stapleton homestead which for three generations had been the home of the Vanderbilts.

It was not a munificent gift for a millionaire to bestow on his eldest son by way of a start in life, but it was better than nothing, and William settled at once on his little estate, determined to make the best of it. And here a word may be said as to the want of natural affection on the part of the elder Vanderbilt, a fault seriously questioned by some,

though a hundred times cast at him as a reproach. Brought up as he had been in the school of adversity, toiling without cease, and saving every dollar that he could spare, his early struggles had tended to harden still further his strong and self-reliant nature. "Let others do as I have done," he said; and as for his own sons he considered that better than anything he could give them was the opportunity for work, for earning their own livelihood as soon as they were able, no matter how severe and distasteful the task. "If a boy is good for anything," he remarked, "you can put him down anywhere and he will make his living and lay up something; if he can't he is not worth saving, and you cannot save him. Such was his maxim, and this he applied to his own children no less than to others, believing that labor, hard, honest labor was the surest panacea for the evils with which youth is beset.

From the first William was resolved to make a success of farming, and in that resolve was the surest presage of success. "Few men of his age," remarks the *New York Times*, "would have had the courage to leave a banker's desk to grapple seriously with the responsibilities and difficulties of such an undertaking, and still fewer would have overcome the obstacles and succeeded; but his motto was, never to attempt what he could not do, and never to fail when work would win. The morning sun greeted him in the field, and the setting sun left him there. He was among the first to begin work and the last to leave it; he directed the whole, but permitted nobody to do more labor than himself. The result was that the wastes and barrens of the little farm were soon transformed into a blooming garden, and Mr Vanderbilt's seventy acres soon began to return him a goodly income."

Further to improve his estate and to enlarge its area, capital was needed, and of this he had none at his disposal. An application to his father for a loan of \$5,000 was refused; whereupon he mortgaged his

farm to a neighbor for \$6,000, enlarging his house and purchasing nearly three hundred acres of adjoining land. But news of this transaction came to the ears of the commodore, who presently called on his son, and during an afternoon drive lectured him sharply on his improvidence. The latter replied that he had only done what he was compelled to do in order to make the best of his farm; that the mortgage would surely be paid off when due; that he had always tried to please his father, and would never again ask him for money. The next day he received from him a cheque for \$6,000, and thenceforward there was a marked change for the better in the attitude of his sire, who began to consider that perhaps there might be some good in this son, though not thus far rich.

During the war William made money rapidly, disposing of most of his produce to the commissariat department at Camp Scott, then the headquarters of General Sickles's brigade. When finally he abandoned farming and removed to New York, his income was at least \$12,000 a year; his farm was considered the best, or at least the best conducted in all the island, and the old farmhouse had been replaced by a country villa, with its tower, piazzas, bay-windows, and all the adjuncts of the Italian style of architecture. Here were passed the happiest years of his life, and here were born his eight children, two of whom, Cornelius and William K. Vanderbilt, were destined to play an important part in the railroad world.

But several years before the war William Henry Vanderbilt began his railroad career. Mainly through his efforts the Staten island line was built, skirting the shore eastward from Vanderbilt's landing; but through gross mismanagement it had become so embarrassed with debt that it was necessary to place its affairs in the hands of a receiver. Less for the reason that the elder Vanderbilt was one of the

largest stockholders, than for the confidence inspired by the ability of his son, the appointment was offered to the latter, and at once accepted, though as yet he had no experience in the control of railroads. Here was the inception of a career which has made his name a household word wherever the whistle of a locomotive is heard. Here in this little island road, without means or credit, and almost without organization, was the graduating school of one of the greatest railroad managers of the age.

The receiver brought to bear on his task all the resources of his energy, working as he had never worked before, and that with a method and business aptitude that astonished the directors ; none more so than his own father, who was now convinced that he had entirely underestimated the qualities of his son. By the most rigid economy, by developing new resources of patronage, and by establishing a separate ferry-boats connecting the road with New York, he gradually began to pay off the claims. Within two years the company was free from debt and on a sound financial basis. Then in recognition of his services Mr Vanderbilt was elected president, and so skillfully did he conduct its affairs that from being absolutely worthless the stock rose within five years to \$175 a share.

But the recognition which he prized more than any other was that of his father, and of this a special token was now to be given. After a trip to Europe, to see his brother, George, a captain in the Union ranks, who died from the effects of exposure and hardship in 1864, he was appointed vice-president of the Harlem railroad, and in the following year of the Hudson River company. In both he became the chief executive officer, carrying to a speedy and successful issue the far-reaching plans which the master mind had conceived. Becoming thoroughly familiar with the details of his business, he gave to each department the most careful supervision, repairing the

track, building new stations and new rolling-stock, increasing the service and the speed, discharging incompetent or superfluous officials, and all this with the closest attention to economies whose items might be small, but whose aggregate was large. Thus the two lines, afterward consolidated as the Harlem and Hudson River railroad, enjoyed such a season of prosperity as had never been witnessed before. "I always told William," remarked Vanderbilt the elder, "that if these two roads could be weeded out and made ship-shape, they would both pay dividends." That they did so was due no less to William's careful management than to the financial combinations of his father.

And now Mr Vanderbilt was in the fullest sense of the word a railroad man, and with a career before him, the greatness of which none could as yet foresee. In truth he was not slow to seize on that career and prove himself master of his opportunities. If he did not possess all of his father's originality and boldness of enterprise, he was greatly his superior in method and organization. In routine work there was no comparison between them, and in close attention to details the younger Vanderbilt was probably without an equal. Not that his duties were confined to mere routine, for now the commodore found a most valuable colleague in the son whom he had so long depreciated. From being a mere agent he became his father's confidential adviser, and without his approval nothing of importance was undertaken. Thus when a controlling interest was acquired in the New York Central, William suggested that for convenience and facility of traffic, a continuous line should be established between New York and Buffalo, and that under a single management. Hence the consolidation in 1869 of the Central and Hudson River companies, forming at that time the most powerful railroad corporation in the United States. To manage this road, running as it did through the

richest state in the union, and affecting more or less innumerable interests, required the very highest order of ability, and for this purpose none could be found so well qualified as William Vanderbilt, who, in the articles of incorporation, was named as its vice-president and chief executive officer. Nominally under his father's supervision, but mainly on his own judgment, and certainly under his own direction, he so administered its affairs that within a few years the value of its stock was trebled, and the New York Central and Hudson River became one of the most valuable railroad properties in the world.

When called by his father's death to the management of the Vanderbilt system he had made himself perfectly familiar with the practical working of all its manifold departments. There was not a nook or corner of that system which he had not penetrated, and to which he had not given his personal supervision. Every contract he had revised; every voucher he had checked, and every item connected with construction, equipment, and traffic had come under his inspection. He had attended to the purchase of rails and ties; he had carefully examined the road-beds and the rolling-stock; he had kept his eye on the employés, on the ticket-office, on the printing office; he had stopped all waste in the repair-shops, and with the result that a vast improvement was wrought in the effectiveness of the roads. Though averse to office work, he labored unceasingly at his desk, answering his own correspondence, keeping, as far as possible, his own accounts, and, though surrounded by men whose fidelity had been attested by years of service, attending to a hundred details which others would have entrusted to subordinates. All this he accomplished by a perfect system of organization, and by using to the best advantage each working hour in the day. "How is it," men asked, "that Mr Vanderbilt finds time to do so much?" He did not find time; he made it.

Except that Mr Vanderbilt was now president of the several companies instead of being their vice-president, his conduct of affairs was not materially changed. He at once set to work, first to secure and then to increase the \$90,000,000 of property which his father had bequeathed to him. If possible he worked harder than ever before, under the pressure of increased responsibility, leaving nothing to chance and as little as possible to the management of others, insisting always on a strict accounting for every dollar that was disbursed, and regarding his millions as a trust, if possible to be enlarged, but certainly to be guarded from risk. With this in view, one of his first measures was to make such arrangements with competing lines as would put an end to the railroad war caused by the cutting of rates. And here his policy differed essentially from that of his father. Instead of compromising with his rivals, the elder Vanderbilt would have crushed them, so extending his system as to make all others subordinate, to reduce them to the rank of local roads. But not so with Vanderbilt the younger, who was never happy in the midst of strife and especially of railroad strife. He would hold his own; he would push his system to the best of his power by all lawful and honorable means; but above all things he wanted peace.

The magnitude of the task which Mr Vanderbilt had now assumed can only be appreciated by those who are familiar with railroad operations. On the New York Central alone there were in 1881 at least 15,000 employes, with 23,000 freight cars, 600 passenger cars, more than that number of engines, and on parts of the road with sixty trains passing each other daily. In addition to the lines already mentioned he had been appointed president of the Michigan Central, the Lake Shore, and the Michigan Southern, and was largely interested in telegraph and telephone lines, in electric light companies and other prominent enterprises.

In 1885 the Vanderbilt system, including the roads which it controlled, extended from New York south-westward to St Louis, northward and westward to Buffalo and Chicago, and from Chicago into many of the most recently settled regions east of the Rocky mountains. In the state of New York its lines ran on both sides of the Hudson, from the metropolis to Albany, and thence through the Mohawk valley to Buffalo. From Buffalo the system was continued to Chicago, skirting both shores of Lake Erie, the so-called Nickel Plate road, a competing and parallel line, being purchased and consolidated with the Lake Shore company. Between 1877 and 1880 the Chicago and Northwestern, with its four thousand miles of track, passing through some of the richest grain and grazing lands in the western states, and connecting at Council bluffs with the Union Pacific, passed under the control of Mr Vanderbilt. Finally he was at this date the ruling power in the Western Union telegraph company, resigning his directorate, as did his friends, in the autumn of 1880, when, through a consolidation of interests, Jay Gould was placed at the head of its affairs.

Meanwhile, to change in a measure the character of his investments, and to protect at least a portion of his vast estate from all possibility of loss, he had made one of the largest transfers of railroad stock ever recorded in the world. In November 1879 he disposed of 250,000 out of his 400,000 shares of New York Central to a syndicate representing mainly the Wabash system, but including also a number of foreign capitalists. At \$120 a share, the price agreed upon, he realized exactly \$30,000,000, and this sum he placed in government bonds, soon afterward increasing the amount to a total of \$53,000,000. As he remarked to a friend who advised him on the matter, a revolution had occurred in the railroad world since the death of his father; he was nearly sixty years of age and could not much longer remain

at the head of affairs ; it would be far more difficult for his sons to conduct the great railroad system than it had been for himself. Moreover, he would now be less subject to the public distrust which, however undeserved, is inseparable from one who wields enormous power.

In 1881, though in the midst of another great railroad war, the story of which need not here be related, he transferred to his sons the more arduous portion of his duties, intrusting to Cornelius the financial administration, and to William Kissam the practical management. Some two years later, on the 4th of May 1883, he resigned the presidency of the several companies with which he had been so long associated. "Gentlemen," he said in the simple and dignified address which accompanied this voluntary surrender, "the companies of which I have had the honor to be president for many years past are now about to elect new officers for the ensuing year. The meetings of all of them have been called at this office at this time to thank you as the directors and officers, and also the shareholders of the several companies, for the confidence they have always reposed in me as their president. It is my belief that these corporations are all in a sound condition, and that all the prominent positions in them are filled by gentlemen who understand their duties, and who will discharge them to the satisfaction of stockholders. This fact has had great influence with me in determining the course of action which I have, after due deliberation, decided upon.

"In my judgment the time has arrived when I owe it as a duty to myself, to the corporations, and to those around me, upon whom the chief management will devolve, to retire from the presidency. In declining the honor of reelection from you, I do not mean to sever my relations, or abate the interest I have heretofore taken in these corporations. It is my purpose and aim that these several corporations

shall remain upon such a basis for their harmonious working with each other, and for the efficient management of each, as will secure for the system both permanency and prosperity. Under the re-organization each of them will elect a chairman of the board, who, in connection with the executive and finance committees, will have immediate and constant supervision of all the affairs of the companies, and bring to the support of the officers the active assistance of the directors. The plan of organization now adopted and inaugurated will remove the business of the companies from the contingencies of accident to any individual, and insure continuance of the policy which has heretofore met the approval of the stockholders."

Complimentary resolutions were passed by the several boards, and on the following day Mr Vanderbilt sailed for Europe, accompanied by his son George, and his uncle Jacob. For several years his health had been failing under the terrible load of his responsibilities, the tremendous pressure of his work, from which his only relief had been an occasional trip across the Atlantic, returning by the same steamer, to renew his Antæan labors. He had not in equal degree the faculty which his father possessed of leaving behind him the cares of business, of transacting business rapidly and without apparent effort, of placing upon others the greater portion of his burden. Hard and incessant toil, first as a necessity and then as a habit, had been his lot from boyhood, developing still more completely the practical nature which was already his by inheritance.

And yet, during his earlier travels, he developed and cultivated tastes for which few gave him credit. Of this we have evidence in the mansion and art gallery which he erected on Fifth avenue, not only the most costly but also the most elegant structure in that suburb of palaces. The picture gallery, stocked

with a choice collection, valued at more than \$1,000,000, was to the west of the main hall, 32 by 48 feet, and with a sky-light 35 feet above, of tinted and opalescent glass. The floor was inlaid with Santo Domingo mahogany, and the pilasters were of the same material, the former bordered with a mosaic of marble. Above the wainscoting were curtains of dark red tapestry, and in the western wall was a mantelpiece of African marble. Here were given art receptions, invitations to which were in eager request by connoisseurs and by the élite of New York society.

Says one of his most intimate friends: "I have known a great many picture buyers in my time, but I have never known one more modest in this particular than Mr Vanderbilt. I think his ambition was to use his love of pictures for the public good. He certainly made the collection with the intention that it should never be separated, and that it should be for the public use. He was most liberal in opening his house to the public, and some days as many as 3,000 visitors were admitted. He continued this until his privacy was endangered and it became a nuisance to his family."

The practical common sense which Mr Vanderbilt brought to bear on his business transactions he displayed in all his relations in life. Although he was acknowledged as one of the most successful men in the world, and was certainly the richest man in the world, he was entirely free from the vulgar ostentation which too often accompanies the possession of wealth. "Once, in Paris," says the friend whose words I have quoted, "a French nobleman of the Bonaparte family had written to Mr Vanderbilt that he wished to sell his collection of Sévres china, Louis XVI furniture, a Marie Antoinette table, and numerous articles of *virtu*. After considerable pressure had been brought to bear we went to his house and saw them. When we came outside, Mr Vander-

bilt said: 'You are supposed to know all about these things and their intrinsic value, and you know of the associations connected with them; but I do not, and I am too old to learn. If I should buy them and take them to New York and tell my friends that such a thing belonged to Louis XVI or to Marie Antoinette, or to Madame Pompadour, and should relate all the other things which make them valuable, I should be taking them from a field where they are appreciated to a place where they would not be. Perhaps I myself should know less about them than anyone else. It would be mere stupidity for me to buy such things and to show them to people to whom I should have to confess my ignorance of the qualities that made them valuable.'

"He was never ashamed to acknowledge, with the utmost frankness and simplicity, his former straitened circumstances in life. I remember one incident illustrating that. I went with him to Boucheron, the famous dealer of the Palais Royal, Paris, to see a picture by Troyon, representing a yoke of oxen turning to leave the field after leaving the plow. Connoisseurs spoke very highly of it, but took exception to the action of the cattle, and said it was forced and unnatural. Mr Vanderbilt remarked, 'Well, I don't pretend to know anything about the quality of the picture, but I do as to the action of the cattle. I have seen them act like that a thousand times.'"

With all his millions it is probable that Mr Vanderbilt was never so happy and well content as when on his Staten island farm. For the first few years of his residence in the metropolis, a Sabbath visit to his former home was his favorite and indeed his only recreation, and in time even this was discontinued, under the pressure of care and work. Gradually his health began to fail; his appetite was gone; his sleep was broken. He consulted his physicians frequently, and his anxiety was increased by a slight attack of paralysis, from which, however, he soon

recovered. "If I can only out-live my sixty-fifth birthday," he exclaimed, "that seems a critical age for our family." And so it proved for himself.

The end came suddenly. On the 8th of December 1885, he was discussing with Mr Robert Garrett, the president of the Baltimore and Ohio railroad, a project for a new line into New York by way of Staten island. The two were seated in Mr Vanderbilt's study, the millionaire in his favorite easy chair, on his left a table covered with papers, and in front his visitor. As the latter was unfolding his plans, Mr Vanderbilt leaned forward in a listening attitude, at intervals making a few suggestions. Suddenly the muscles of his mouth began to twitch convulsively, and his frame was distorted, as though with a spasm of pain. A moment later, without a struggle or a sound, he fell headlong to the floor. A stroke of apoplexy had done its work instantly and almost painlessly, as he had always wished should be his end.

In a mausoleum built some years before, near the old Moravian cemetery on Staten island, the remains of William Henry Vanderbilt were laid at rest. The funeral was of the simplest, in keeping with the tastes and habits of the deceased. On the third day after his decease the members of the family assembled around the plain cedar coffin, draped in broadcloth and lined with satin, where lay his remains. When all had taken their farewell look, the lid of the casket was closed, and slowly the cortege moved through the crowded streets to St Bartholomew's church, where without eulogy or comment the burial service was read. Then the procession went on its way to the spot where the ferry-boat was in waiting, the same one which ten years before had conveyed his father's corpse to the same destination. Once more the steamer, crowded with mourners, put forth into the stream, and from the scenes of his labors the remains of the mil-

lionaire were carried to the island home where he had passed so many happy years, and where was now to be his final resting place.

While apoplexy was the immediate cause of his death, the real cause was anxiety and overwork, resulting finally in arterial changes which brought about the rupture of a blood-vessel on the brain. In one year he did the work of half a dozen years, and almost from the day he took charge of his father's affairs his health began to decline. By nature he had been gifted with a strong constitution, a sturdy frame, and a vigorous physique; but as he himself remarked, "the care of \$200,000,000 is too much for any brain or back to bear." Certain it is that his end was not hastened by any form of dissipation or excess. On the contrary he was a man of extremely simple and abstemious habits. He used no tobacco in any form, nor any strong drink, except on rare occasions. He ate but little meat, and his diet was of the plainest, his favorite dishes being of shell-fish and cereal food in some coarse shape, the latter taken with milk. His only recreations were his afternoon drive, an occasional visit to the opera, and an evening rubber of whist, at which he was a constant and skillful player. His domestic life was worthy of all praise, and in his relations as a husband and a father no man was more thoughtful and indulgent. No matter how severe the pressure of his business, he always found time to minister to the happiness and welfare of wife and children, and that must indeed be an urgent matter which would call him from his home after nightfall. The most cordial of hosts, he entertained his friends in princely fashion, and yet without the slightest trace of affectation or display. Though not a brilliant speaker, he was fluent and vigorous in conversation, abounding in humor, and with the keenest appreciation of a joke. Among all the millionaires of the metropolis there was no more popular man,

and there were none so well fitted to carry to a successful issue the great work which his father had begun.

Many were the tributes paid to his memory, not only by his associates, but by those who a few years before had been his rivals and antagonists. By the directors of eleven railroad companies a memorial was drawn up, the day after his death, from which the following are extracts:

"His sudden death, in the very midst of the activities whose influence reached over the entire continent, has startled the entire country, and in the hush of strife and passions the press and public give tender sympathy to the bereaved family, and pay just and deserved tribute to his memory. But to us who were his associates and friends, endeared to him by the strongest ties and by years of intimacy, the event is an appalling calamity, full of sorrow and the profoundest sense of personal loss, while officially we feel that his sagacity, his strong common sense, his thorough knowledge of the business, his willingness to lend of his vast resources in times of peril, and his counsel and assistance, were of invaluable service in conducting and sustaining these great enterprises.

"He came into the possession of the largest estate ever devised to a single individual, and has administered his great trust with modesty, without arrogance, and with generosity. He never used his riches as a means of oppression, or to destroy or injure the enterprises or business of others; but they constantly flowed into the enlargement of old, and the construction and development of new works, public in their character, which opened new avenues of local and national wealth, and gave opportunity and employment, directly or indirectly, to millions of people. In keeping together and strengthening, during a period of unparelled commercial depression and disintegration, the combination of railways known

as the Vanderbilt system, which he inherited from his father, greatly extended, and transmitted to trained and worthy successors, he performed a work of the highest beneficence to the investors and producers of the whole country.

“With all the temptations that surround unlimited wealth, his home life was simple, and no happier domestic circle could anywhere be found. The loved companion with whom he began his active life in the first dawn of his manhood was his help, comfort, and happiness through all his career, and his children have one and all honored their father and their mother, and taken the places which they worthily fill in their several spheres of activity and usefulness.

“In performing this last and saddest of duties, we who were his associates, advisers, and friends, remember not the millionaire but the man. His frankness, his unaffected simplicity, his deference to the opinions of others, his considerations for the feelings of all, his tenderness in suffering and affliction, and his whole-hearted manliness, were to us precious privileges in his life, and are loving recollections in his death.”

Said Russell Sage, one of the ablest of business men and himself a millionaire: “Mr Vanderbilt was a very remarkable man, of far more original force and financial ability than anyone imagined when he succeeded to his father’s millions. If he had not the genius of the commodore, who was to finance what Shakespeare was to poetry and Michael Angelo to art, he was certainly a most able successor. He doubled the colossal fortune that was left him, and that proves an executive skill that only one man in a million possesses. I have had more or less to do with him, and the three qualities I observed as most striking in his character were his readiness, his reliability, and his courage. That is to say, he always met an emergency with a plan; he

always kept his word to the very letter, and he possessed such a fund of decision and persistence that, having undertaken to do a thing, and having made up his mind how it was to be done, he went right ahead and carried it through on the lines he had laid down. I think that his rare success in manipulating his great fortune was due to these qualities."

To the same effect spoke Jay Gould, for many years his rival; and thus Isaac P. Chambers, controller of the New York Central; "I acted as the private secretary of Mr Vanderbilt in connection with the auditor's duties from 1865 to 1883. During all these eighteen years I was never farther away than in the next room to his, and I never saw a man of more amiable disposition. He was not understood by the public. He thought of their interests in every respect, and in considering any new movement or change in policy, would say: 'We must look out for the public first, for you know that we are their servants.'"

Of the enormous fortune bequeathed by Mr Vanderbilt, estimated at nearly \$200,000,000, \$70,000,000 was invested in government bonds, \$27,000,000 in railroad and other bonds, and the remainder in railroad shares and miscellaneous securities. Against \$200,000 of expenses, his income amounted to \$10,350,000 a year, to more than \$28,000 a day, or \$1,200 for every hour in the twenty-four.

The bulk of his fortune was left to his eight children, each of whom was assigned an equal share in securities valued at \$80,000,000. Their names were Cornelius, William K., Frederick W., George W., Margaret Louisa, Emily Thorn, Eliza O., and Florence Adele. For his wife and other relatives ample provision was made, and at least \$1,000,000 was set apart for various trusts, annuities, and charities, among which were bequests to religious and scientific associations, with one of \$200,000 to the Vanderbilt university at Nashville. To this institution he

had already presented, during his lifetime, \$100,000 for the founding of a theological school. Others of his public benefactions were also on a princely scale, as the one of \$100,000 in 1880, for removing the Egyptian obelisk to Central park, and of \$500,000, a year before his death, to the New York college of physicians and surgeons.

No less munificent were his private charities, although their extent was never known except to himself and the recipients. Too well remembered to require special notice is his offer to cancel the mortgage held on the property of General Grant, and when this offer—twice refused—was accepted only on condition that he receive in payment the trophies gathered in the general's tour around the world, he at once presented them to the nation. Not least among his generous deeds were the gifts which he made some three years after his father's death of \$1,000,000 to his brother Cornelius, and of \$500,000 each to his sisters, carrying the bonds in his carriage to their several residences, and distributing with his own hands, this munificent largess.

To his sons Cornelius and William Kissam was left the remainder of the estate, amounting to nearly \$100,000,000 after all bequests had been fulfilled. Both were, therefore, well prepared to continue the administration of the Vanderbilt system, and to keep it under their control. From being first assistants they had become associates in all his railroad enterprises, Cornelius as first vice-president at the head of the finance department, and his younger brother as second vice-president and chief of transportation. While their duties were arduous, they had been trained to work, and both were able, energetic, and conservative, with the conservatism which, in the railroad world, is the natural result of experience. Though differing somewhat in habits and characteristics, they formed together a strong combination, each one being, as it were, the supplement of the other.

Born at his father's Staten island farm, on the 27th of November 1843, Cornelius, after receiving a thorough academic training, began life as a clerk in the Shoe and Leather bank of New York city. Here, though the favorite grandson of the richest man in the United States, he was treated in all respects as were the other employés, with similar duties and under the same control. Meanwhile, his conduct was being closely watched by the commodore, who had determined that, before being placed in a more responsible position, he should first give proof of his diligence and self-reliance. Preferment came rapidly, for he was a capable youth, faithful in the discharge of his duties, and never missing an hour at his desk. Said the president of the bank in later years: "I do not now see much of Mr Vanderbilt, as our paths lie apart, but when he was here he was, I think, the most single-minded and conscientious worker I ever saw. He was not merely honest—most bank clerks are that—but he was exceedingly precise, and worried if a cent were missing in the accounts. He was thoroughly fair-minded too, and always did exactly as he agreed, showing in every way not only a careful bringing up, but a kindly nature."

At the age of twenty he was transferred to the banking and brokerage firm of Kissam brothers, in order to obtain a better insight into the business for which his grandfather intended him. A year later he entered the treasurer's office of the New York Central, and here he remained until, on his father's succession to the presidency, he was appointed, as I have said, vice-president, and placed in charge of the finance department. And here it may be mentioned that, on the death of his grandfather, the recognition accorded to Cornelius in his will showed that he was deemed competent to assume in due time the administration of the vast affairs with which the family name was connected. Trained under the personal influence of the commodore, he had acquired in a



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measure the qualities that had led to his success ; add to this his father's guidance and counsel, and the result was a man of excellent business habits and business education, one keeping himself under perfect control, and well fitted to take control of others. On assuming the financial management of the New York Central, he bore easily and lightly the burden laid upon him. He showed indeed a special aptitude for the position, not only by the clearness and accuracy of his statements, but by his intimate knowledge of the company's condition, which enabled him to respond at any moment to the questions put to him concerning its affairs. Thus he rapidly became known to the business world, and won the confidence of all the banking and mercantile firms whose interests were identified with those of the Vanderbilts.

After their father's death Cornelius and his brother inaugurated what was then a novel system of railroad management, whereby the supreme authority was vested in a board of control, to which even the president was subject. Under this arrangement he was appointed chairman of the New York Central and Michigan Central boards, with James H. Rutter as president of the former, succeeded, after his death, by Chauncey M. Depew. The Vanderbilt roads with their affiliated lines were then extended westward almost to Salt Lake city, covering indeed the entire northwest, and including, besides those already mentioned, the West Shore, the Cleveland Columbus Cincinnati and Indianapolis, the Indianapolis and St. Louis, and the Chicago St. Paul Minneapolis and Omaha. In every part of this vast system was felt the influence of Cornelius Vanderbilt, and without his advice and consent nothing of importance was undertaken. His skillful and conservative management, without fear or favor, and simply in the interests of the stockholders and the public, gave to that system a prestige which it had never before enjoyed. Like his father, he was quick to reward faithfulness and zeal

among his employés, and none were more respected by the vast armies of men who called him chief. But in matters of discipline he was rigid and unyielding, insisting on promptitude and alertness in a vocation where human lives depended on a strict discharge of duty. In the railroad wars and railroad strikes which of late have been of such frequent occurrence, he has adopted a firm but conciliatory attitude, and perhaps his firmness and decision were never more clearly displayed than during the strike which occurred on the New York Central during the summer of 1890. Well it was that at this juncture a competent man was at the helm, one qualified by his ability and experience to confront the threatened danger, and to put an end to the confusion in which for a time the company's traffic was involved.

As a proof of the interest which he felt in the welfare of those who served him, may be mentioned his donation to the employés of the New York Central of a club-house on Madison avenue, a handsome and commodious structure, with library, reading-rooms, class-rooms, gymnasias, bath-rooms, and bowling alleys, with a spacious hall for public meetings, and with sleeping rooms for those whose duties detained them late into the night. In a letter dated June 30, 1886, expressing the directors' appreciation of this appropriate gift, the president remarks: "While you could not be fairly called upon any more than other individual stockholders personally to incur this expense, in doing so you perpetuate in a way most honorable to yourself and beneficial to the company a name already identified with the management of this corporation and its affiliated lines during two generations. Individually I am deeply sensible that this work will lighten the burdens of the administration of the company's affairs, and promote that good feeling and mutual and interdependent interest between the executive and all departments of our business, which, increasing with years, will furnish

more acceptable service to the public, and add to the value of the property."

To the calls of philanthropy and benevolence, to hospitals, charities, and churches, to scientific and educational institutions, Mr Vanderbilt has devoted no small portion of his scanty leisure and his ample means. In 1890 he was connected with at least a score of such associations, and if he refused to connect himself with others it was because, in accepting such offices, he deemed it his duty to give to them his personal attention, and this his time did not permit. How often he has tided over their ever-recurring financial difficulties will never perhaps be known; but by all who were allied with him in such good works his assistance and advice were ever welcomed and appreciated.

Like most of the Vanderbilts, Cornelius married young, the lady of his choice being Miss Alice Gwynne, the daughter of one of the most prominent lawyers of Cincinnati. The union has proved in all respects a happy one, and not least among the blessings were the aid and sympathy which Mrs Vanderbilt so readily accorded to her husband's labors in behalf of his fellow-man. They have a family of six children, the eldest, William H., being a member of the class of '93 at Yale University. Within recent years Mr Vanderbilt has withdrawn in a measure from the more onerous duties of his position, avoiding as far as possible all friction and nervous waste, and deputing to others the care of such matters as needed only to be supervised. At his Fifth avenue mansion, tastefully furnished, and containing one of the choicest of libraries and art collections, or at his country seat at Newport, where are all the appliances for comfort and healthful recreation, his leisure time is passed in the company of his wife and children, his books and pictures, and at times of a few chosen friends. Now in his forty-seventh year, his appearance resembles closely, except

for the difference of age, the well-known portraits of the commodore, with the same bright eye and the same massive, intelligent, and clear-cut features. As others said of his father, men regard not the millionaire but the man, and neither his wealth nor power have detracted in the least from the esteem which he has so long and deservedly enjoyed.

Thus, in as brief space as was consistent with the purpose of my work, I have described the career of the Vanderbilts, from the time when the commodore borrowed from his mother one hundred dollars, wherewith to purchase his periauger, to the day when his grandson, wielding his scores of millions, controlled the greatest railroad system on the face of the earth. By some these men have been decried as the despoilers rather than the benefactors of their race; but the number of their detractors is few, and now that the dust of battle is cleared away, and malice and prejudice are no longer at work, it is admitted that they have been the most enterprising railroad managers of the age, possessing rare administrative talent, and such a combination of abilities as the world has seldom witnessed.

Purely from an economic standpoint, it is indeed impossible to overestimate their influence for good on the condition of their fellow-man. To hundreds of merchants and manufacturers they have contributed directly of their wealth; to thousands they have contributed indirectly by opening up new avenues of trade; to scores of thousands they have given employment, and to millions they have afforded the means of cheap and rapid transportation, the benefits of a thoroughly equipped and organized system, extending from the shores of the Atlantic to the base of the Rocky mountains, and from the great lakes to the juncture of the two vast rivers whose united stream rolls southward to the gulf. Here we have one of the most striking examples which history affords of the boon conferred on mankind by the

acquisition and distribution of wealth. In these untitled princes are some of the dominant factors of the world, and some of its dominant benefactors, men who, while accumulating millions for themselves, have added tens of millions to the wealth of others, have circulated their capital among a multitude of toilers, and have renewed the sluggish arteries of commerce and finance.

When the owner of property which, if turned into gold, would represent at least \$200,000,000, or 500 tons of solid metal, William H. Vanderbilt handled but little of his money. He never even saw it, and but the smallest fraction of it was at any time in his actual possession. Of the \$10,000,000 or more of his yearly income he used only the fiftieth part, and of every hundred dollars that he possessed ninety-nine were at the disposal of others.

By their predecessors millions had been taken out of the roads which they controlled; but by the Vanderbilts millions were put into them. It was not theirs to destroy but to build up, to renovate and raise from their ashes the fragments of worthless properties, to consolidate parallel and competing lines, to re-equip them, to prepare them for the service of the public, and in so doing to cast upon the waters the bread which should return to them after many days. Such men are in the truest sense the builders of our commonwealth, setting in action a power for good, such as was never wielded by earthly monarch, and contributing more than monarch ever contributed to the welfare and happiness of mankind.

CHAPTER VIII.

RAILWAYS—OBSERVATION TOURS AND DISCUSSIONS.

MAGNITUDE OF THE PROPOSITION INVOLVED—THE FIRST RAILROADS—
WESTWARD-TENDING SPECULATIONS—TRAILS OF THE FUR-HUNTERS—
GOVERNMENT EXPEDITIONS—PROJECTS AND PROPOSALS—DIVERSITY OF
CLAIMS ADVANCED—SECTIONAL JEALOUSIES—RAILROAD CONVENTIONS
AND PRINTED DISCUSSIONS—PREDISPOSITIONS AND PROGNOSTICATIONS—
POPULAR IDEAS AND INTERESTS—ATTITUDE OF CONGRESS.

ONE cannot help being struck, in following the history of transportation, with the vast amount of means involved in it, which all the time grows greater. The labor, thought, and high purpose which has entered into this one branch of human endeavor is wonderful; it is worthy of intelligent contemplation from many points of view, one of the most surprising things about it being the progress made in a single quarter-century, from 1845 to 1870. This development began with water transportation, almost altogether, and continuing until a yet more marvellous advancement was achieved on land.

The first railroad charter granted in the United States was by the legislature of Maryland to the company which constructed the railway between Washington and Baltimore, and which was operated by horse-power, the cars being of a plain and primitive pattern. In 1830 Peter Cooper built a locomotive at Baltimore weighing about a ton, which drew an excursion platform car at the rate of eighteen miles an hour, and was the first locomotive for railroad use ever constructed in America. But improvements rapidly followed, passenger transportation being carried on by steam in several of the states before 1840,

and before 1845 there were 2,278 miles of railroads in the United States.

The application of steam to land transportation solved a political as well as a commercial problem. It was the means by which the eastern and western borders of the republic might be bound together into one homogeneous commonwealth. By its time and distance were in a measure annihilated, a fact which was comprehended while yet the means of making it available were wanting.

With admirable foresight the United States government had considered the importance of road-making even before steam entered into the consideration of the question of transportation. It kept an intelligent watch upon those *traileurs* of the wilderness, the fur-hunters, and instituted a series of expeditions towards the Pacific, beginning with that of Lewis and Clarke, and followed in due time by others. Nothing like a road survey was attempted before 1825, when J. C. Brown, by order of the United States government, marked out a road from the western frontier of Missouri, near Fort Osage, to San Fernando de Taos, near Santa Fé, in New Mexico. The commissioners who with him conducted this expedition were Benjamin Reeves, George C. Sibley, and Thomas Mather. They followed a path already in use by fur-traders and others, extending along the divide between the Kansas and Arkansas rivers, known as the Santa Fé trail. It struck the latter stream near Plum Buttes, following up its valley to Choteau island, where it turned toward the Cimarron, which it followed eighty-seven miles; then bore off to Rabbit Ear creek at the head of the north fork of the Canadian, whence it continued west to the mountains near the source of the Ocalá river, and terminated at Taos. This route was elaborately surveyed with chain and compass corrected by observations for latitude with a good sextant, the work not being completed before 1827.

A survey similar to this was also made in 1826 by R. Richardson, from Little Rock in Arkansas, to Fort Gibson, in what was later known as Indian territory. In 1832 Lieutenant J. Allen, of the army of the United States, made a reconnaissance of the sources of the Mississippi. He was accompanied by Henry R. Schoolcraft, whose subsequent writings upon Indian languages and customs gave him a wide reputation. At the same time B. L. E. Bonneville, an army captain, led an expedition of adventurers to the Rocky mountains, adding somewhat to the limited knowledge of the public concerning the mid-continent, although he, like other "discoverers" followed the trails of the mountain men who were his guides.

Colonel Manny in 1833 left Fort Gibson with a company of Texan rangers, and proceeded westward as far as the head of Little river to learn something of the country, which Colonel Dodge with some companies of dragoons still further explored between the Red and Canadian rivers, about seventy miles west of the Wachita mountains. On this expedition General Leavenworth, and many officers and men, died of malaria fever, and the report was worthless, probably from this cause. Catlin, the artist, was a member of this expedition, and touchingly depicted the sufferings undergone by the troops.

In 1835 Colonel Dodge made a second reconnaissance, this time of the main Platte river, and its south fork to its source. Thence he proceeded to the Arkansas, and returned to Fort Leavenworth by the Santa Fé trail. Three years later C. Dimmock surveyed with chain and compass a military road along the western borders of Arkansas and Missouri, between forts Smith and Leavenworth. This was, I believe, the first military road in so western a part of the United States domain.

A foreigner named I. N. Nicollet, in 1838, having come to America in the interests of science, and to study the physical features of this continent, after

having explored the Alleghany range, and ascended the Red, Arkansas, and Missouri rivers for long distances, and explored the Mississippi from its mouth to its source, was invited by the war department and topographical bureau to make a report of his travels, after which he was employed by the government to explore the country west of the sources of the Mississippi. In this undertaking he was assisted by Lieutenant J. C. Frémont, the survey occupying two years. Nicollet was the first who made use of the barometer in obtaining the elevation of the plains above the sea, and his map was one of the most valuable contributions ever made to American geography.

About the same time, from 1838 to 1841, the land and naval expedition of Lieutenant Charles Wilkes in Oregon and California was made, adding much information to that already obtained concerning the Pacific coast from private sources. Following upon this, which was intended to supplement and complete it, were laid before congress the expeditions of Frémont in 1842 and 1843-4, now familiar to all the world.

In 1841 there was also an expedition of Texans under General McLeod to Santa Fé. It consisted of six companies averaging forty men each, and a large wagon train carrying merchandise. The chronicler of the expedition was one Kendall who accompanied it, and who tells us they left Austin June 21st, travelling north, crossing the Brazos at Big Timber, and turning westward to the Big Wachita, which they mistook for Red river, entering Llano Estacado, or staked plain, at the head of the main Red river. Here the force divided, one part under Colonel Cook taking the advance, and General McLeod following with the train. A company of pioneers sent forward by Cooke struck the Canadian at the Arroyo de Truxillo, and kept up the valley until they came into the Santa Fé trail, which brought them to Anton Chico, where they procured guides which were sent back to meet Cooke, and who led him by the way of

Tucumcari hill, "along the road generally pursued by immigrants," near the Canadian river, to New Mexico.

In the mean time the pioneers were arrested and imprisoned, Kendall with the rest, at San Miguel, and Cooke when he arrived was treated in the same manner by the suspicious authorities, while a force was sent out under the Mexican general Armijo, which captured General McLeod's command at Laguna, Colorado. Kendall's narrative gives an affecting account of the sufferings of this expedition from hunger, from Indian hostilities, and imprisonment by the Mexicans. It was believed that this party was the first to visit the sources of Red river, but of this there is no evidence, and the information furnished was of little value. In 1843 Captain N. Boone, of the United States Dragoons, commanded an expedition from Fort Gibson up the left bank of the Arkansas, to a point ten miles above Lower Red fork, crossing here to the right bank, and following it to the mouth of the upper Red or Big Salt fork. Thence the party travelled due west sixty miles to Big Salt plain, where it turned north to the Santa Fé trail, striking it on the headwaters of the Little Arkansas, whence it turned west to Walnut creek, and thence south to the Canadian, pursuing it down to the north fork, and from there to Fort Gibson. Boone committed the error of taking the Cimarron to be the source of the Red fork, and so representing it on his map. The same year Captain J. Allen led an expedition from Fort Des Moines to the source of the Des Moines river.

The government, which carefully sought information from any source, found a useful authority in *Gregg's Commerce of the Prairies, or the Journal of a Santa Fé Trader, during eight expeditions across the Great Western Prairies, and a Residence of Nearly Nine Years in Northern Mexico; Illustrated with Maps and Engravings; in 2 vols., 1844.* From these, and all other sources which could be relied upon, maps of the country beyond the Mississippi were made for the use of

congress. A glance at them, however, reveals the frequent substitution of imagination for fact, and that notwithstanding these yearly expeditions, not much was known of the vast territory stretching from the Mississippi to the Rocky mountains, and from this axial elevation of the continent to the western ocean. What thus became known stimulated a desire for further information, and Colonel J. J. Abert, chief of the topographical bureau, ordered Frémont to the Pacific coast, where he remained long enough to take part in the conquest of California.

Lieutenant J. W. Abert, who was detached from Frémont's command in 1845 at Bent's fort, with instructions to explore Purgatory creek and the Canadian and False Washita rivers, in obeying instructions travelled down the Arkansas to Purgatory creek, and up that stream eighteen miles, where the cañons forced him westward to Timpa creek, which he followed to its head, and crossing a low divide came again to Purgatory creek, which following up to the Raton mountains in the present state of Colorado, taking the Santa Fé route through the Raton pass, he reached the sources of the Canadian, keeping down the stream to about latitude $35^{\circ} 50'$, and striking across to Utah creek, near its head, pursued it to its junction with the Canadian, which was followed to Valley creek, after which he took a southerly course to the north fork of Red river, believing it to be the False Washita. When he had followed the main river about seventy miles he turned northward again, and crossing the head branches of the False Washita reached the Canadian, down which he travelled to Fort Gibson, having completed a long loop in horse-shoe form with its open end on the Mississippi river and its arc touching the great Rocky divide.

In 1845 W. B. Franklin, topographical engineer, made a reconnoissance to the South pass, escorted by Colonel Stephen W. Kearney, of the United States first dragoons. The expedition travelled the usual

immigrant route from the Missouri, and returning to Fort Laramie proceeded southward from the post along the Chugwater and Crow creeks to St Vrain's fort, and thence to the Arkansas below the mouth of Fontaine Qui Bouille, returning to Fort Leavenworth along the Arkansas valley and Santa Fé road.

A more important expedition was that of Major W. H. Emory, of the topographical engineers, who in 1846 conducted an expedition from Fort Leavenworth to San Diego, in California, his route including parts of the Arkansas, Del Norte, and Gila rivers. Leaving Leavenworth June 27, 1846, he followed the sweep of the Arkansas to Bent's fort, where he was joined by a column of the army of the west going out to hold our conquest in California, and thence proceeded south through the Raton pass and to the Pecos river, which he crossed at San Miguel, striking the Santa Fé trail at the head of Galisteo creek. From Santa Fé the army travelled down the Rio Grande del Norte 230 miles to Fra Cristobal, where the command divided, the wagon train taking a beaten road, while the troops crossed the dividing ridge "nearly on the 33d parallel," and taking a west course struck the Gila, which they followed, only making detours to avoid cañons, to its junction with the Colorado. This was the route afterward adopted by the immigration from the southern states to California. On the 5th of December Emory's command crossed the range lying between the interior and the coast by Warner's pass, arriving at San Diego on the 12th.

To Major Emory was due the marking out of a new transcontinental line. In his notes he gives a graphic description of that remarkable point, since become familiar to army men, and later to the travelling public, where the Gila and Colorado unite, and where the United States established a fort in 1850 called Yuma, after a local tribe of aborigines.

Writing on the 22d of November, 1846, he says: "The mountains rose abruptly from the plains, as they

mostly do in this region, resembling in appearance large dykes terminating at top in a sharp ridge, which a man could at any part straddle. They were of hard granite, pepper and salt colored, traversed by seams of white quartz. This spur gives the river Gila quite a bend to the north; and from that point to its mouth, which we reached at night, the river is straight in its general direction, but its course is crooked and dotted with sand-bars by incursions from the sand-hills which now flank both its sides. The sand is brought down by the winds from the valley of the Colorado. Its volume seemed, I think, a little diminished, probably absorbed in the sand. The day was warm, the dust oppressive, and the march, twenty-two miles, very long for our jaded and ill-fated brutes. Camp to-night in a little hollow encircled by a chain of sand-hills overgrown with mesquite."

Next day, the 23d, the record continues: "The junction of the Gila and Colorado due north from our camp, and about a mile and a half distant. The day was stormy, the wind blowing fiercely from the north. We mounted a butte of feldspathic granite, and looking 25° east of north the course of the Colorado was tracked by clouds of flying sand. The Gila comes into it nearly at right angles, and the point of junction, strangely chosen, is the hard butte, through which with their united forces they cut a cañon, and then flow off due magnetic west, in a direction the resultant due to the relative strength of the rivers. The walls of the cañon are vertical, and about fifty feet high, and 6,000 feet long. Almost before entering the cañon, in descending the Gila, its sea-green waters are lost in the chrome-colored hue of the Colorado. For a distance of three or four miles below the junction the river is perfectly straight, and about 600 feet wide, and up at least to this point, there is little doubt that the Colorado is always navigable for steamboats. Above, the Colorado is full of shifting sand-bars, but is, no doubt, to a great extent, suscep-



tible of navigation. The Gila, at certain stages, might be navigated up to the Pima village, and possibly with small flatboats at all stages of water.

“Near the junction, on the north side, are the remains of an old Spanish church built near the beginning of the 17th century by the renowned missionary, Father Kino. It will probably yet be the seat of a city of wealth and importance, most of the mineral and fur regions of a vast extent of country being drained by the two rivers. The stone butte through which they have cut their passage is not more than a mile in length. The Gila once flowed to the south and the Colorado to the north of this butte, and the point of junction was below. What freak of nature united their efforts in forcing the butte is difficult to see.”

Fort Yuma now stands on a portion of this river-pierced rock, and the walls of the cañon furnish abutments for a railroad bridge! Not often are the freaks of nature more opportune.

Major Emory was accompanied as far as Santa Fé by Lieutenants James W. Abert and William G. Peck, who were detached at this point to explore portions of New Mexico. On the 8th of October they began the descent of the Rio Grande to Algodones, where they made an excursion up the Rio Jemez, returning and continuing down the Rio Grande to Albuquerque. Having examined the country along the river as far south as the ruins of Valverde they returned to Albuquerque, and Santa Fé. From the latter place Abert journeyed to Fort Leavenworth by the route followed by Emory in entering New Mexico, arriving in March 1847. Peck remained at Santa Fé, and in April 1847 made a reconnoissance of the Cimarron route, of which no report seems to have been made.

Another expedition in 1846 was that of Colonel P. St George Cooke, whom General Kearney sent from

La Joya to Santa Fé to take command of the Mormon battalion then en route for California. Cooke assumed command October 19, 1846, and led the battalion of 400 men and a wagon train down the Rio Grande to a point a few miles above San Diego, on that river, where he crossed to the west side, and taking a southwest course to Ojo de Vaca, crossed the road leading to the copper mines to the Yanos, travelling south to the Sierra de los Animas which he crossed one mile from the Guadalupe pass, and coming to the San Pedro river followed it forty-eight miles, after which another forty-eight miles in a northerly direction brought him to Tucson. From Tucson he marched to the Pinos villages on the Gila, and thence down that stream to the junction with the Colorado, crossing which he arrived at Warner's rancho, and the coast, his route being almost identical with a railroad route subsequently adopted.

Brevet Captain W. H. Warner, topographical engineer, who had accompanied Emory's expedition, after being relieved from duty with the major, made in 1847-8 extended examinations of the route from San Diego to San Francisco, and in 1849 was exploring the country near the Oregon boundary for railroad passes in the Sierra, when he was killed by Indians while surveying near the range which bears his name. Lieutenant Williamson, who belonged to the exploring party, secured his notes, from which the report was made out, and included in the *Pacific Railroad Reports* published by congress. Warner's surveys were the first explorations on the Pacific coast looking to the construction of a trans-continental railroad.

Lieutenant George H. Derby, by order of General Riley, made a reconnoissance of the Sacramento valley in 1849, and furnished a map of the country. A second exploration was made by Derby in 1850, from Monterey through the mountains to Tulare valley, to discover the nature of the passes to be used for roads.

In 1848 Captain J. C. Frémont made an explora-

tion independent of government aid, with the object of determining the nature of the country on the upper waters of the Rio Grande, and of discovering a pass through the Rocky mountains in that direction. He had a party of thirty-three men, and a complete outfit; but unwisely undertaking to reach the source of the river after the snows of winter had commenced to fall, disaster pursued him, and he escaped from great peril with the loss of one-third of his company, and all of his animals. Being succored by his former guide, Christopher Carson, of Taos, he reorganized his force and proceeded toward the Gila, the course of which he followed, reaching California in the spring of 1849. The march of the rifle regiment under Colonel W. W. Loring, from Fort Leavenworth to Fort Vancouver via the South pass was reported fully, and added many descriptive passages to the archives in the office of the secretary of war. In the same year Captain Howard Stansbury, of the topographical engineers, conducted an exploring expedition to the valley of Great Salt lake, assisted by lieutenants Gunnison and Carrington, both of whose names have since become memorable from their connection with Indian tragedies in the mountain region then first traversed by them. Stansbury wintered at Salt Lake City, and made a survey of the great lake in the summer of 1850. He was the first to survey this pass afterward adopted by the Union Pacific railroad. From the notes of these several expeditions Lieutenant G. R. Warren drew a *Map of the Territory of the United States, From the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean*, which was published in 1858 by the government, accompanied with some later surveys ordered by congress.

In this brief résumé of observation tours, the cost of which was paid by the government, I have made no mention of the valuable aid given to discovery by fur-hunters, traders, immigrants, and missionaries, whose circumstances and pursuits made them familiar

with routes and passes. Scientific exploration has hardly shown us one which necessity and industry had not previously pointed out.

By comparing the dates above given with the history of railroad development which is to follow before coming to the final action of congress in ordering railroad surveys, the correspondence between their progress may be noted.

Fourteen years before the conquest of California, and when "the Oregon" was our only possession on the Pacific, Hartwell Carver, grandson of the Jonathan Carver who gave the Oregon river its underivable and curiosity provoking name, conceived the idea of a transcontinental railway, to terminate at the mouth of the Columbia, whence it was to bring the commerce of the Indies, about which a great deal was said during the long period when our northern boundary was unsettled, and which was to flow along the Columbia valley, through the South pass and onward to the Atlantic. There were great men in the government in those days—orators, with the imagination of poets; statesmen, with the genius to enunciate never-to-be-forgotten doctrines of national polity; word-painters, who pictured a western ocean whose every billow "twinkled with a sail," and enthusiasts, who believed as they dreamed. They laid the foundations of a century of wonderful achievements.

One of these enthusiasts was Carver, to whom the great transcontinental roads owe a monument, and to whom the first gave a free passage to the Pacific thirty-seven years after his publication in the *New York Courier and Inquirer* of a plan by which such a road might be built. These publications were followed by memorials to congress from 1835 to 1839. For fifteen years he continued to importune that body, being supported a part of the time by Asa Whitney, who finally abandoned him on finding the opposition too powerful to be overcome.

Carver finally proposed that a perpetual and exclusive charter should be given him and his associates, to construct a railroad and telegraph line from Lake Michigan to the South pass, with branches to the mouth of the Columbia and the bay of San Francisco—not a bad plan, as everybody knows, “the true Pacific route” as it is called by an able engineer even now. A grant was asked for a belt of land or right of way for the whole distance, and all the material required from the public lands, and the privilege of purchasing 8,000,000 acres of selected lands at a dollar and a quarter an acre, to be paid for in stock of the company as the road was completed—a plain and honest proposition. But to this the people in convention would not agree. The public lands belonged to them; democracy was the popular form of politics, and the democrats were opposed to internal improvements. They said congress had no constitutional right to engage in stock-jobbing with the people’s means—a safe sentiment when not carried too far, and when the public money was not too freely used in external acquisitions, to which democracy was inconsistently prone about this time. Had Carver been allowed to undertake his road it would have swallowed up his 8,000,000 acres before he had reached the Missouri. It was to be laid on stone foundations, and to be furnished with sleeping, dining, and saloon cars. From the Missouri to the Rocky mountains he would have found little, either wood, stone, or other material; but this does not detract from the value of his ideas, which experience has only improved upon without discarding. He spent the best years of his life, and what in those days was a fortune, in urging his scheme upon the attention of congress and the people.

As one may learn by reference to the public prints from 1836 for a period of ten years, the discussion of plans for a transcontinental railroad was continuous, after which it was chiefly transferred to congress. During these ten years John Plumbe, of Dubuque,

Iowa, proposed at a public meeting held for the purpose on the 26th of March, 1838, to build a railway from the great lakes to the Columbia river. A memorial to congress was drafted by a committee of which Plumbe was chairman, "praying for an appropriation to defray the expense of the survey and location of the first link in the great Atlantic and Pacific railroad, namely from the lakes to the Mississippi." Their prayer was granted, and money appropriated for a survey, the report made to the secretary of war being of a very encouraging character.

Plumbe also drafted a memorial purporting to come from the Wisconsin legislature at the session of 1839-40, which he presented at Washington, but without effect, when he transferred his efforts to New England, where his labors were also apparently unappreciated. His plan was to secure from congress an appropriation of the public lands in alternate sections on each side of the line. The company might consist of any persons who chose to participate at five dollars a share, the stock being divided into 20,000,000 shares, and twenty-five cents a share should be paid down with which to commence operations; twenty-five cents a share when the first \$5,000,000 was exhausted, and so on to the end. The road was expected to do business enough to pay expenses from the completion of the first section. But as the scheme contemplated constructing no more than one hundred miles a year, more than twenty years would be required to complete it, and who could tell what might happen in twenty years? The Wisconsin memorial was accompanied by a bill which being introduced in congress was voted down by southern members who, besides being opposed to an appropriation of the public lands, were not in favor of a northern route.

Perhaps the most conspicuous and persistent of the transcontinental railway projectors of the period was Asa Whitney. He was a New Yorker, and having

very hopeful commercial ideas, as well as a more than usual familiarity with the importance of Asiatic trade, having passed several years in the Chinese empire, was enthusiastic in recommending the United States to secure at any cost a commerce with the Indies and China by the most direct route. His plan also contemplated the use of the northern route to the mouth of the Columbia, or to Puget sound, or both. The southern states regarded this recommendation as sectional, which feeling was ill-founded. At this time we had no ports on the Pacific south of Oregon. During the fifty years of controversy over our northern boundary we had contended earnestly for our rights in Oregon in order that we might have this frontage on the Pacific. Already a hardy and patriotic population was occupying that territory, which received accessions yearly of large numbers of settlers. It was natural and inevitable that the earliest railroad projects should point that way—the way that Jefferson had indicated in 1804—the route about which clung all the romance of a romantic age.

But if Carver had fallen far short of asking for the necessary aid to construct his road, and if Plumb had come pretty close to the limit of expense, Whitney was too sagacious to commit a like error, but demanded a breadth of sixty miles along the whole length of the line, with all that the land contained of vegetable or mineral resources. He asked nothing else but the land, which he proposed to sell to raise the required amount of money, and to retain for himself whatever remained unsold after the road should be completed. The question of time does not seem to have been taken into account, but the schedule of tariffs was most remarkable. He offered if the government would allow him to charge one-half cent per ton per mile on ordinary freight carried any distance over 200 miles, to carry the same all shorter distances for half the amount charged by other railroads. As few roads were likely to compare with his projected

road in length, he would be safe to get his half cent a mile over the greater portion of it, while his half price on the shorter distances would secure him all the business on the eastern end that could be reached. But the striking absurdity of half a cent per ton per mile as a non-competing price must raise an incredulous smile upon the face of a California railroad patron or proprietor. He offered to transport Indian corn to the Pacific for twenty cents a bushel, and a barrel of flour for a dollar and a quarter, and to carry passengers for "half the usual price" for twenty years after the completion of the road, besides carrying free the United States mails, troops, and war material for the same length of time.

Whitney's project, which was presented to congress in January, 1845, was argued for and against for several years in public journals and in the halls of congress. Some saw in it a power to be dreaded, imperial in resources, which might menace the government and hold sway over elections, if it did not divide the union by erecting a principality throughout the breadth of the continent. Some thought such a work as a continental road ought to be constructed and owned by government, while others prophesied ruin should congress appropriate the public money to this use.

Among those who believed the government should construct the road was George Wilkes, who was not without many supporters in 1845-6, and whose ideas were somewhat more advanced than those of his co-projectors. He showed that an official survey would so enhance the value of land in that direction that it would be an easy thing to find money for construction purposes. His proposal was submitted to congress in December 1845 by William B. Maclay, of New York, and was referred to the house committee on roads and canals, whose chairman, Robert Smith of Illinois, reported favorably upon it, and Wilkes addressed a communication to the legislature

of far-off Oregon, asking the approval of that body, which was given in a memorial to congress. The Whitney and the Wilkes projects were before the public at the same time, and there were a number of aspirants for the distinction of originating a scheme of railway communication with the Pacific coast, among whom were John P. Gaines in 1834, Lewis Gaylord Clarke in 1836, Lilburn W. Boggs of Missouri, and since of California, and Zadock Pratt of Prattsville, New York, at a little later period. The idea did not, however, belong to any individual, but was born of the necessity and the opportunity, in many brains at once. It was not that it was unpopular that it was not accomplished, but that one part of the people dare not trust the other part with the means or the power.

Said a facetious writer in a southern California newspaper in 1869: "About 270 years ago John Smith sailed up the Chickahominy, duly provisioned for a long voyage, fully expecting to reach the Pacific ocean. The course was well chosen, but water failed, and he was disappointed in his hopes of discovery. After his day many attempts were made to shorten communication between the two coasts, and some of them, viewed in the light subsequently acquired, were as ridiculous as the first." They were ridiculous, however, only as all experiments are so when compared with the accomplished fact; in each new absurdity there was a little gain.

In 1846 public meetings began to be held very generally to consider the Pacific railroad question, there being two great parties, one favoring a land subsidy, and the other a national road belonging to the people, with the government at the head. These assemblages were particularly frequent in the west, in 1847, from which large migrations were annually made to Oregon and California. Conventions were held at Canton, Ohio; Galena, Illinois; Bloomington, Indiana; Burlington, Iowa; and other places. Even

the Canadians caught the infection, and talked of building a railroad from Halifax west as far as Quebec, and of carrying it through to the Columbia by making a grant of all the crown lands, not previously located, along the line of survey, with a preëemptive right to the shareholders to purchase a part of these lands on favorable terms, and the guaranty of five per cent to be paid by the government on all the money invested. The conclusion of the boundary treaty in June of that year which fixed the line at the forty-ninth parallel, above which there was no population except Indians and fur-traders, silenced this proposition for the time.

The acquisition of California and a large body of Mexican land on a parallel with the slave states in 1846-7, while it indicated more than ever the need of rapid and easy transportation to the Pacific, introduced a new political bias against a transcontinental railway, the southern states being unwilling, if there could be but one road, that it should be north of the line separating the free from the slave states, and which they contended should be extended to the Pacific. On the other hand the northern states were unwilling, if there could be but one road, that it should go so far south as to be practically a southern road.

At a railroad convention held at Chicago, July 7, 1847, William M. Hall, of New York, made a speech in favor of Wilkes' proposition for a national road, the points of which he said were: first, that it should be owned by the government; second, that it should be constructed and controlled by sworn commissioners appointed by the legislatures of, or elected by the people of, the various states; third, that it should start from the western border of Missouri near the parallel which would strike the South pass, and continue westward from there, under the jurisdiction of the general government; fourth, that its revenues should not exceed the measure of its expenses, while

it should be open to foreigners on the same terms as our own people, all customs charges to be returned on reshipment; and fifth, it should be built out of money in the public treasury, and not by the allotment of land for the purpose. It was suggested, however, that to every laborer or artisan employed on the construction of the road for one year, one hundred acres of land contiguous to the line, or near it, should be granted, as a means of securing settlement. A system of emigration from the states and Europe should be adopted, which would enable the commissioners to replace the second year the laborers of the first who made settlements, and so on to the end, "many millions" of workingmen being thus furnished with a freeholding under our institutions. This beneficent purpose was prevented from being carried out, not alone by its general impracticability, but by its heavy demand upon the treasury of the people, who were not to be allowed to reimburse themselves, and by the selection of the South pass route. A reference to my résumé of expeditions during President Polk's administration will show that nearly if not quite every reconnoissance or survey directed by the secretary of war during this administration was along the parallels running west from the borders of Louisiana and Arkansas, or at the highest of Fort Leavenworth, and south of the Arkansas river.

Meanwhile congress was kept well informed of the sentiment of the people on this important question. Discussion, and the rapid march of events in the nation's history, were removing much of the dread of national ruin which ten years previous was made the foundation of opposition to a Pacific railroad. Polk's administration had shown them to what brilliant achievements the people's purse could be devoted, and that it was better to be in debt for a desired advantage than to resign the expectation of it.

In 1848, sixteen of the states, Tennessee, New Jersey, Indiana, Illinois, New York, Connecticut,

Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Rhode Island, Georgia, Maryland, Alabama, Ohio, Kentucky, and Pennsylvania, through resolutions of their legislatures, and Michigan through its senate, expressed their approval of Whitney's plan of building the Pacific railroad, with a fund created by the purchase and sale of lands to be set apart by congress for that purpose.

On the 27th of June John M. Niles, of Connecticut, obtained the consent of the senate to introduce a bill to set apart and sell to Whitney a portion of the public lands for the purpose of enabling him to build a railroad from Lake Michigan to the Pacific ocean. When in July Niles moved to take up the bill, Senators John P. Hale of New Hampshire and Thomas H. Benton of Missouri spoke strongly in opposition to it, and Niles' motion was laid on the table. In August Niles attempted to bring up his bill by appending it as an amendment to a bill granting a right of way, and aid, to a road from Mobile to the mouth of the Ohio river, but subsequently withdrew it to allow the original bill to pass.

On the 29th of January 1849 Niles moved in the senate to take up the bill previously introduced, with the remark that the question was one in which the whole country was interested, and that the people were surprised by the indifference of congress in relation to it. He wished to know if the senate was prepared to enter upon its discussion. If California was to become a part of the union, as in his judgment it must, a closer connection with it would become imperative; to which Senator Solon Borland of Arkansas, from the committee on public lands, replied that he had been directed, instead of a report on the memorials of the legislatures, to urge the passage of a joint resolution reported from the committee at the previous session adverse to the bill and the memorial of Mr Whitney, and simply authorizing the secretary of war to cause surveys to be made from the Mississippi valley to the Pacific ocean to ascertain the best route.

Henry S. Foote of Mississippi regretted that any opposition should be made to the motion of Senator Niles, declaring that he particularly wished the bill taken up, as he had an amendment to offer. He thought it due to the measure and the author of the measure that the senate should proceed to a respectful consideration of its propositions; whereupon Mr Borland replied, that while he was disposed to treat respectfully the opinions of senators, he did not feel called upon to show any marked regard for an individual who came before congress asking its action for his especial benefit, and to enable him to carry on a gigantic speculation; insisting that there had been no actual survey of the proposed route to the Pacific, and no explorations except those of Colonel Frémont and Major Gillespie, both of whom declared it utterly impracticable.

The end of this exchange of senatorial courtesies was that Senator Foote moved his amendment, which was a change of route after crossing the Missouri, the road to run in a southwest direction to some opening south of the South pass, and thence west to the bay of San Francisco, or of Monterey; but if such a pass should not be found, then to run direct to El Paso del Norte, and thence to San Diego on the Pacific. Borland then offered an amendment which was to direct the secretary of war to have explored by the topographical corps such routes as he thought proper in order to test the practicability of a railroad from one or more points on the Mississippi river below the falls of St Anthony to the Pacific ocean. And there the matter ended for the term, so far as the Whitney enterprise was concerned.

But the "national" plan had a strong advocate in Thomas H. Benton of Missouri, who on the 7th of February delivered a speech of considerable length in the senate on the question. "I go," said he, "for a national highway from the Mississippi to the Pacific, and I go against all schemes of individuals or com-

panies, and especially those who come here and ask of the congress of the United States to give themselves and their assigns the means of making a road and taxing the people for the use of it. Make a great national work like this a matter of stock-jobbing, a matter of sale upon the exchanges of Europe and America in shares, the issuing in fact of a circulating medium in the shape of shares! Sir, I go against it in toto. I have done it from the beginning, and shall ever do it. Not only are individuals utterly unable to undertake any work of this kind, unable to carry it on, unable to protect it when it is done, but sir, I have no idea of letting any individuals levy a tax upon the American people to an amount which they beg from us for the building of the road. I look upon all such applicants as jobbers, and repudiate them. We are ourselves to furnish the investment—the American people are themselves to furnish the investment, and then these individuals are to levy a toll equal to the amount invested by the American people who are to furnish the capital. I repudiate the whole idea, sir. I go for a national highway; no stock-jobbing. I am, Mr President, for a central highway—central, because it is the one that is most national, and accommodates the greatest number of persons—central, because the road admits of branches to the right and left, and the bill which I propose to bring in provides for one of these branches to Oregon, and another may be added for New Mexico.”

The truth is, Benton would have a plan by Benton. His scheme was a road from St Louis to San Francisco, as nearly straight as might be, and it was the determination to find a pass to accommodate this so-called central route, as witness Frémont's hare-brained attempt to cross the Colorado mountains the following winter. Failing in this he turned south to Taos, and took the Gila route to San Diego. This failure of Frémont's was a strong argument against any route in the north, it being taken for granted

that latitude decided the amount of snowfall, and strengthened the cause of the advocates of a southern route.

Benton's bill reserved a breadth of one mile from Missouri to the Pacific ocean, in order to provide room for every kind of road—railway, plank, macadam, and electric motor—as if one belt of assorted roads in the middle of the United States territory could be made to accommodate all the country on either side! A part of the plan also was to have a line of military posts along it, as without these, it was said, it was in vain to have a road. A telegraph was to accompany it besides; indeed, this national mile-wide band of highway was to be secure from every manner of evil and danger—"a road in which the farmer in his wagon or carriage, on horse or on foot may travel without fear, and without tax—with none to run over him or make him run out of the way. I look forward to the time when this continent is to be settled from one end to the other—when there are to be towns and villages upon it—when neighbors will want a convenient road. They may there find a space for them in which they shall not give way to cars or anything else—a road not to be interfered with." This was the language of a man whose ideas were drawn from ancient history and Roman methods, who was, although a prophet of the future, unable to rise to the privileges of the present or cope with the rapid march of achievement.

Benton's plan did not contemplate a continuous railway, but the track should be of iron "where practicable and advantageous, and shall be macadamized, or otherwise constructed where not so practicable and advantageous." Sleighs might be used during those months of the year when snow lay deep in the mountains. His proposal for providing for the cost of construction was to devote to it the proceeds of seventy-five per centum of the public lands in Oregon and California, and fifty per centum of the amount of

the sales of all other public lands in the United States. The importance of the road to the Pacific coast was recognized by charging upon it twenty-five per cent more of the cost than upon other portions of the country. Nothing came of Niles' or Benton's bills in the senate, which indeed was in the midst of the political struggle over the admission of California, before which contest even the question of a Pacific railroad shrank into a secondary importance. Nevertheless, on the 17th of February 1849 Borland presented a petition asking for aid for the construction of a railroad from Memphis to the Pacific; and on the same day Samuel Houston, of Texas, introduced a bill authorizing the Galveston and Red river railroad company to construct a railway to the Pacific ocean in California, which bill was referred to the committee on territories.

Down to 1848 the lower branch of congress had shown little interest in the Pacific railway schemes. In May of that year Robert McClelland, congressman from Michigan, and chairman of the committee appointed to consider the legislative memorials above mentioned, reported a bill similar to the Niles bill in the senate, and James Pollock of Pennsylvania, another member, supported it with a favorable resolution by the committee, which was the first action vouchsafed by any member of the house in connection with the continental railroad, and although the bill was rejected was an evidence of a growing sentiment in congress in its favor. It cropped up once or twice during the session of 1848-9, but was speedily voted down.

Meantime Whitney, in May 1849, published a pamphlet embodying his views, and arguments in favor of them, as well as his objections to all other proposed plans for constructing the Pacific railroad. There was much sagacity in his treatment of the question. He objected to the time which would be required to complete the government survey, pointed

out the sectional quarrels that would take place over the selection of a route, prophesied that they would delay the work indefinitely, and that when these should be settled, if ever, the measure would become a party engine of immense power which would be wielded to the detriment of good government. It was very unlikely, according to his view, that the means to build the road would ever be voted, but should it be it must be as a party measure. Money would be drawn from one section of the republic to another to be squandered by office-seekers, and in short the business of so vast a concern would absorb and control the legislation of the country, and become fifty times more obnoxious than a United States bank, over which the people had been so much excited. As to cost, his estimates were satisfactory to a majority, it being generally conceded that the work could not cost less than \$69,226,600, and probably would not be done for less than \$100,000,000.

But the bright intellects of a committee of Boston men had shown them where to attack Whitney's plan. To the New York chamber of commerce the question was by them propounded: Assuming that Whitney would build ten miles of road this year, take another year to sell the land, and three years more to get the money, being thus at the end of five years prepared to build the next ten miles, and so on, would it not take him 850 years to make 1,700 miles of road? Or if by a stretch of imagination he should build ten miles of road, sell his land, and get his pay all in one year, would it not even then take him 170 years to build 1,700 miles? This question caused a great chuckling among the advocates of a national road. But no one had yet discovered the way to build it.

In truth it could not have been done at this period had there been no sectional strife to delay it, without devoting to it all the money derived from the sale of the public lands—\$3,328,642 for 1848; and then at the rate of about 80 miles a year, at which pace the

road would reach the Pacific in something over twenty years, even at the computed distance of 1,700 miles which was short of the actual distance several hundred miles. The attention of the public was taken up with other affairs—first of all with the gold production of California, and how to get there immediately. Congress had assisted the United States Mail and the Pacific Mail Steamship companies to obtain steamships to carry out their contracts with the government, and had subsidized them liberally. The Panamá railway company—William H. Aspinwall, John L. Stephens, and Henry Chauncey, and their associates—were asking for a twenty years' government contract to encourage them in the construction of a road across the Isthmus, a subsidy equal to a steamship subsidy, namely \$250,000 annually for carrying United States mails, troops, and munitions of war 52 miles forth and back monthly if required.

It was argued in its favor that it would furnish a temporary substitute for a transcontinental road, as it would make easy and rapid connection between steamship lines on both oceans. The discussion brought up the subject of interoceanic canals, and the prospect of one day possessing such a passage into the Pacific at one of the several isthmuses below Mexico. The discovery of gold and the manifest importance of our Pacific possessions had suddenly brought to the surface many questions which otherwise would have appeared in the usual slow course of diplomatic conferences, but which now crowded each other in their haste to be heard. Among them all the Pacific railroad held its place, and steadily, if slowly, gained supporters.

In the spring of 1849 there was a railroad meeting at St Louis, at which arrangements were made for a national convention, every state to be invited to send delegates who should meet at that city, October 16th, to express their will. Ten northern states, and Vir-

ginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Louisiana sent delegates, who altogether numbered 835.

The only point much discussed at this convention was that of routes. Benton was present to advocate the central route, which he did with much confidence, taking for truth the report of Frémont, who was deceived by the representations of men owning large land grants in situations to be benefited by a railroad; namely, Maxwell, St Vrain, Beaubien, and Wootten. These men held a public meeting at Taos, at which St Vrain presided, and at which the route selected by Frémont on their recommendation was declared excellent, but which they afterward scoffed at. This could not then be known to Senator Benton, who threw all his influence against the South pass, saying that Frémont did not approve of a road so far north, and had found a better one several degrees south of it which he offered to the country.

There was another Missourian present, John Loughborough, who had occupied the time intervening between the spring and autumn meetings in gathering evidence for and against the South pass, and who succeeded in carrying the convention with him in favor of that route. It should be remembered that the people had not yet lost sight of the fact that Oregon contained a population drawn from the western states, who had long been asking for a national road of some kind, protected by military posts, and who had memorialized congress in favor of a railroad. Only the people of the extreme southern states were willing to ignore their claim on the nation's aid in subduing the great northwestern wilderness which they had toilsomely reached by weary months of travel with ox-teams. By the South pass road Oregon and California could be easily reached. If there should be a pass chosen several degrees south, pointing direct to San Francisco, or Monterey, as Frémont desired, the road would become strictly a highway to California. No definite plan and no definite knowledge had

resulted from more than fifteen years of agitation. It had become evident that the location of the road would stand in the way of government aid, even if the financial problem could be solved, for sectional jealousies were at their bitterest, and congress was the theatre of a gigantic contest for principles on one side and questionable rights on the other.

Of the routes projected there were three that had been long under consideration: one from Memphis to El Paso and thence to San Diego, California; that on the 38th parallel; and that through the South pass. But now appeared Loughborough with what he called "the new route," and about which he wrote a pamphlet, published in December 1849. His new route started from St Louis and went to Independence, the point from which both the Santa Fé traders and the Oregon immigrants had long been accustomed to take their departure; but it followed the track of the immigration to the Platte, and along the south side of that river to the south fork, crossing the latter to Fort Laramie, running thence to the South pass, and Bear river via Sublette's cut-off. Here it diverged to the Humboldt valley, which it traversed to the Truckee river and pass, descending the Sierra into the Sacramento valley.

There was nothing new about this route, which had been travelled over the greater portion of its length by the immigrations of successive years from 1843 to 1849, except the use of the Truckee pass, first resorted to by a wagon train in 1844, and again in 1846, when the Donner party became fatally entangled in its snows. Most of the large body of California gold-seekers of 1849 entered California by this route, although the Carson pass, and another at the head of the American fork of the Sacramento river, and a fourth leading into the San Joaquin valley from the east, were already known and travelled.

Loughborough owed his information concerning the availability of the Truckee route to a journal kept by

W. R. Singleton, and furnished by him in 1849. Frémont had indeed published an account of his expeditions of 1843-4, during which he entered California by the Walker and left it by the Carson pass, and whatever difficulties there were in either were already known to the world. Major Carleton had also published in 1849 a table of distances, and of water, wood, and grass, on the route from Fort Leavenworth to El Paso via Santa Fé and from Fort Leavenworth to Fort Laramie via Fort Kearney, for the benefit of civilians as well as of the army, and all this information had a value in view of a future railway.

Loughborough, after pointing out the advantages of the Platte and Humboldt route, referred to the opinion that congress had not the constitutional authority to construct a railroad within the sovereign states—an opinion which had caused the legislature of Missouri to pass an act March 12, 1849, incorporating the Pacific railroad, under which a company was organized in January 1850, which asked congress for a grant of land to aid in its construction—which opinion he denominated a millstone around the neck of the project of a Pacific road. The right, he claimed, had always existed, and had been frequently acted upon, and sanctioned by the majority of the American people. He adjured them to disregard sectional and personal influences, and fix upon a definite course, reminding his readers that they should keep in view three great ideas: first, empire; second, nationality; and third, the revolution of the commerce of the world.

The St Louis convention left the question where it found it, and adjourned to reconvene at Philadelphia in April 1850.

But St Louis was not alone in holding a convention to consider the railroad question. At a convention in Boston it was proposed to adopt the central or 38th parallel route, and to form a company to be

chartered by congress, with a capital of \$100,000,000, which after paying \$2,000,000 into the United States treasury, should have the right to borrow government six-per-cent stock to an amount not to exceed \$98,000,000, sufficient to complete and put in operation the entire road with a double track. Congress was to be asked to give the company a strip of land ten miles wide on the north side of the road, and land for roadbed and stations, with the right to take from the public lands such material as should be found there necessary to the construction of the road. It was proposed to complete the road from St Louis to San Francisco in four years, by employing three sets of laborers, who should keep the work continuously progressing day and night, with a reserve for special effort.

This plan received attention from business men as less objectionable than the enormous land grant of Whitney's scheme, or the great national expenditure of Wilkes' plan; for it could not be denied that congress might authorize a loan of the public credit for its own transportation purposes. The author of this plan was P. P. T. Degrand, who had associated with himself William Ingalls, G. H. Derby, S. S. Littlehale, James C. Dunn, Robert F. Fisk, and O. D. Ashley. A similar proposition was offered by the firm of Bayard and company, who would deposit \$5,000,000 in the treasury as security for the faithful performance of their contract. But the objection was raised to both these proposals that congress had no authority to create corporations, and that these plans involved the necessity of making the road earn dividends for the stockholders, which the people objected to.

New Orleans and Memphis also held conventions in 1849, urging their preference for a southern route. It is refreshing in this age of certified facts and figures to recall the flowery eloquence with which men fifty years ago approached the knotty problem of a railroad

two thousand miles long. They talked of it as if it were an idyl in wood and iron, a vision wrought up by an Aladdin lamp or ring; they prophesied like the seers of Judea, turning loose their tongues and beating the air with their hands. "Within half a century," said the address of the Texas delegation to the Memphis convention, "we will have a population of twenty-five millions on the Pacific slope. That slope is now separated from us by the almost impassable barriers of a mountain and a desert. This mountain must be made smooth; this desert must be made to blossom as the rose. This people, blood of our blood, flesh of our flesh, must be brought to our doors. Social reasons urge it; political reasons require it; commercial reasons imperatively demand it. The east, the gorgeous east, will be opened to our commerce without a rival, a competitor. The east, not more celebrated in song for its perfume-bearing breezes and balmy clime, for its sacred legends and mystic lore, than in more staid and sober history for the splendor of its empires, the gorgeous magnificence of its palaces and temples, the magnitude of its rivers, the grandeur of its mountains, the fertility of its plains, the abundance of its gold and silver, and its precious stones, its gums, its teas, and its spices, the beauty and costliness of its manufactures, the untold variety of its productions, and for the extent and richness of its commerce—a commerce which has been sought by all nations who have risen to commercial greatness as far back as history reaches into the past, and which has always rewarded the search with countless wealth and unrivalled splendor. A commerce which in ancient times caused the cities of Tyre and Sidon, and Balbec and Palmyra and Alexandria, each in succession, to rise to such a height of general prosperity, commercial greatness, and refinement in the arts as to excite, even to this day, the wonder and admiration of the world. A commerce which in modern times caused Constantinople, and Venice, and Genoa, and Lisbon, and

Amsterdam, each in their turn, to attain the very pinnacle of commercial greatness, and caused them, single as they were, each to excel in the splendor of its achievements in arts and in arms, all the kingdoms and empires upon the earth. A commerce which has caused Britain to wrest the very trident from Neptune himself, and enabled her to utter the proud boast of mistress of the seas. This commerce with all its untold wealth, and its limitless future increase, may be ours—will be ours without the fear of a competitor, if we only reach forth our hands and clutch it.” The names appended to this address were James W. Allen, T. J. Hardeman, M. Erskine, T. Connelly, William E. Jones, and E. Bellenger, “in behalf of the Gonzalez convention,” which as well as the Memphis conference was held in October.

There had been time to digest these matters before the convening of the adjourned St Louis convention April 1, 1850, in Philadelphia. Robert J. Ingersoll of Pennsylvania was temporary chairman, and William B. Ogden of Illinois president of the organized convention. An effort was made to reconcile the sectional feeling. Thomas J. Rusk, of Texas, who was not present, wrote: “Let this road be constructed, and there will be no north and no south, no east and no west, but our country will be everywhere, and every spot of earth on which our hardy yeomen tread will be their home and the home of their brethren. All the angry passions which have of late agitated the public mind, breathing forth the unhallowed name of disunion, threatening the very existence of our free institutions, and causing the heart of every patriot to beat quick with dread when he reflects on the bare possibility of such a result, will pass away.”

Letters were received from Benton, Orin Fowler, John Robbins Jr, Job Mann, Samuel R. Thurston, R. Chandler, Thomas Ewing, Charles E. Clarke, James M. Porter, John Cessna, and W. Milnor Rob-

erts. Accompanying a letter from Frémont, was a map of his route beginning at St Louis, running to Independence, and along the Kansas and Arkansas rivers to Bent's fort and thence to Cochitopa pass south of the Grand cañon, thence northwest to White river and west to the Uintah, crossing the divide into the Utah basin, and to the foot of Great Salt lake, where it turned northwest again to Pilot peak, and followed the Humboldt valley to the Truckee river and pass through the mountains into California. All the evidence for and against different routes was reviewed, and the subject of how to accomplish the end in view once more considered from all points. It was impossible, however, to bring all the delegates to one way of thinking. Joel B. Sutherland argued in favor of a national road. "No man living," said he, "ought to have the power of building this road vested in him and his heirs, nor should any company have that grant made to it." Robinson, delegate from Indiana, spoke in favor of Whitney's proposition. Morrison, of Pennsylvania, also favored this plan. Jacob Dewees of the same state outlined a project for a system of roads from Atlantic seaports to converge at St Louis, which should be the eastern terminus of the Pacific railway. Stevens of Rhode Island presented the views of a meeting held at Providence on the 20th of March preceding, and indeed there seemed no lack of interest anywhere, except in the southeast corner of the union, which had no voice in the matter.

The committee on resolutions took the national side of the question, declaring it to be the duty of congress "in some way to apply the energies of our country" so as to secure the earliest possible completion of a Pacific railroad; that the work being national should be constructed by national means; but in order to avoid state and local prejudices, the government should confine its operations to the territory outside of state limits, and leave to the states the

construction of the branches within their jurisdiction ; but liberal appropriations of land should be made to aid the states, and congress should order a competent survey of all the routes believed to be practicable.

Morrison of Pennsylvania was opposed to the resolutions. John Biddle of Michigan, and S. R. Curtis of Iowa sustained them, and they were finally adopted. A resolution was offered by Elder, of Pennsylvania, that the president of the convention appoint one delegate from each of the states represented to report on the most feasible route, which was rejected. Solomon W. Roberts moved a recommendation to the American people to urge upon congress by numerous petitions an early and ample appropriation for surveys of the routes in contemplation for a railroad to California and Oregon, which was adopted.

Camp, of New York, offered a resolution that the electors of the country should be recommended to vote for no man for congress who was opposed to a Pacific railroad, which motion was declared not to be admissable ; when T. B. Florence offered to amend by substituting for the more severe measure that the people in their primary assemblies should pass resolutions in favor of the railroad, which motion was tabled. It was not the purpose of the convention to stir up political dissension ; there was enough of that already threatening the peace of the country. Speeches were made by the president and others in favor of a national road. Mr Ogden was not one of those who feared the nation would be ruined by undertaking so colossal an enterprise. He met the timid with figures, and showed them that when the population of the United States was only about 5,000,000, and the people were poor, that is, from 1790 to 1800, we had owed more than \$70,000,000 ; that in 1816 the national debt was \$127,000,000 with a population of no more than 9,000,000 ; yet such was the recuperative power of the nation that in 1836 we were out of debt, and had a surplus of \$40,000,000, which congress distributed

among the states. With the then present population of 23,000,000, and a condition of the greatest prosperity, a debt of \$170,000,000 could not injure the country, even if the expenditure returned nothing to the government, which, however, could not be as long as the government made use of the road for transporting mails, troops, and munitions of war, for which it annually paid large sums to contractors. The business of the Erie canal, which had been scoffed at in the beginning, had rapidly increased the wealth of the people, and so would a Pacific railroad in a far greater degree. A memorial was finally drafted, calling the attention of congress to the action of the convention, and leaving the subject to be disposed of by the national legislature.

The effect upon congress of this widespread interest of the people in the Pacific railroad was not perceptible at this time, when a change of administration and the admission of California occupied its attention, together with other more pressing measures. President Fillmore in his annual message in December merely expressed the opinion that it seemed to be the duty of the government to use all its constitutional power to "improve the means of intercourse" between the Atlantic states and the Pacific territories. With his mild moderation he ventured no farther than to call the self-created and lately admitted ~~state~~ of California one of our Pacific territories. He advanced no opinion as to what were constitutional measures. Indeed the message had much more to say concerning the projected Tehuantepec canal, and the convention between Great Britain and the United States for "facilitating and protecting the construction of a ship canal between the two great oceans, and of the grant to an American citizen of right of way across the isthmus" than concerning the iron track which the people desired within their own boundaries. Military expeditions were in progress, such as have been previously mentioned, but not more in view of a future

transcontinental railroad than in response to the petitions of western communities and legislatures to have the emigrant routes protected and improved.

All the while the question of the Pacific railroad was becoming more and more a political one. The north was divided between the national and the land-grant plans, nor did it insist upon a strictly northern, or free-soil route. But the south, which already regarded the acquired and public territory south of the Missouri compromise line as devoted to slavery, was averse to paying any portion of the cost of a road constructed on free soil, and was equally averse to allowing the north to have a railroad to the Pacific unless the south had one at the same time; the argument being that the road would greatly accelerate settlement along its line, which result would be prejudicial to the south by increasing a population hostile to the institution of slavery. A writer in De Bow's *Southern Review* pretended to favor Whitney's proposal, and its immediate acceptance, upon the ground that unless the appropriation asked for should be granted at once, the land reformers of the north, who gave away the public lands in soldiers' bounties to make capital against the south in the presidential campaign, would have nothing left with which to satisfy the proposed contract with Whitney in the country between Lake Michigan and the Missouri river.

CHAPTER IX.

RAILWAYS—EXPLORATIONS AND SURVEYS.

SINGULAR SUBSIDIZATIONS—LAND DONATIONS—ENORMOUS WEALTH OF DEVELOPMENT—INFLUENCE OF CALIFORNIA GOLD ON EASTERN RAILWAY CONSTRUCTION—NUMBERLESS CONGRESSIONAL RAILWAY BILLS—PROGRESS IN AND ABOUT CALIFORNIA—PACIFIC RAILROAD SURVEYS—COLLATERAL EXPEDITIONS—STUPIDITY OF OFFICIAL SURVEYORS AMONG THE ROUTES AND PASSES OF THE FUR-TRADERS AND EMIGRANTS—VOLUMINOUS PUBLICATIONS—EXTENSIVE RECONNOISSANCES ON THE PACIFIC SLOPE.

THE right of congress to grant the public domain, which belonged, as the statesmen of the early years of the republic believed, to all the states equally, for which some return should be made to them, and the revenue from which should be applied to national affairs, such as payment of the public debt, was an idea of slow growth. The aid extended to railroad companies by the general government was at first in the form of "relief"—that is to say, of public land turned into money. The states in several instances made grants of some kind to encourage their construction. New Jersey, for instance, entered into a contract with the Camden and Amboy, and the Delaware and Raritan Canal company, both composed of the same individuals, by which the most complete monopoly ever instituted in the United States, if not in any civilized country, was established. In 1832 the legislature of that state granted to these companies the exclusive right of transporting passengers and goods by railroad or canal through the state, with a clause prohibiting the exercise of such a right by any person or company without the consent, not of the legislature, but of those companies. In return the state

received a certain interest in the road and canal, together with ten cents on every passenger conveyed through the state upon either of them, and eight cents on every ton of merchandise, coal, or other freight transported by the canal.

By another law of New Jersey passed in 1837, these companies were authorized to demand and receive from each person conveyed across the state, a distance of eighty-five miles, from Philadelphia to New York, the sum of four dollars if by daylight, and of five dollars if by night, the companies being required to pay into the state treasury one-half of the passage money received over and above three dollars for each passenger. The New Jersey law thus discriminated between persons living or coming from outside the state, the fare required of way passengers being only three cents a mile, or about half that collected from through passengers. It required only a passport system to make New Jersey a foreign country, so far as transportation was concerned, and a very unfriendly one. The road lying between the two principal marts of the United States was necessarily the great highway of travel for the whole country, whose citizens had business at the national capital or the principal commercial cities of the Atlantic seaboard. The constitution of the republic did not authorize a transit duty by any state upon passengers or freight, and yet the state of New Jersey had established a grievous one.

These companies also, not being in any way restricted, charged the government for the transportation of the mails exorbitant amounts, besides taking no trouble to connect the great southern mail for New York with the departure of their trains, and leaving them for seven hours at Philadelphia, to the great inconvenience of business men in the north. In 1848 a petition was sent to congress asking for relief from the double oppression of a transit duty, and the delay of the mails. The postoffice department also, for the

first time in several years, obtained a satisfactory agreement with the railroad company as to charges for mail transportation, upon an intimation that the government might construct a post-road, and relieve the Camden and Amboy of its contract with the government. The case of the Camden and Amboy was the first bitter lesson in transportation monopoly which the people of the United States had to learn, and it made them for a time cautious if not suspicious.

The first donation by congress of public lands for purposes of internal improvement was approved April 30, 1802, and was for the benefit of the people of the "eastern division of the territory northwest of the river Ohio," and was contained in the enabling act of Ohio. The donation was of one-twentieth part of the net proceeds of the lands lying within the state to be sold by congress after the 30th of June following, and was to be applied to the laying out and making of the public roads leading to the Ohio river, and through the state from the navigable waters emptying into the Atlantic. These roads were to be laid out under the authority of congress, with the consent of the states through which they passed. In March of the following year the secretary of the treasury was directed to pay three per cent of the net proceeds, as provided by the law, to persons designated by the state of Ohio, for opening roads.

Similar acts followed, differing only in the amounts granted to the states, down to 1824. In May of that year the state of Indiana was authorized to construct a canal, a right of way of ninety feet on each side of it being granted from the public lands. The state, however, did nothing until congress in 1827 passed two acts, giving to Indiana and Illinois half of ten miles in width of the public lands on each side of their canals to aid in the construction; one connecting the Wabash river with Lake Erie, and the other the Illinois river with Lake Michigan. The canals were to

remain public highways for the use of the government, and unless completed in twenty years the states must pay to the United States the amount received for lands sold.

An act of congress was passed in 1833 authorizing the state of Illinois to apply the lands granted in 1827 to the construction of a railroad instead of a canal, which was the first act looking to railroad construction with federal aid; but the state finally decided to build a canal as first contemplated.

In March 1835 congress granted a right of way thirty feet wide on each side of its line, to a corporation organized in Florida, with ten acres of land at its terminus, which was the first one granted to a railroad. In the following year a right of way eighty feet in width was granted to the New Orleans and Nashville railroad company. This act showed an advancement in ideas concerning the requirements of railroads, and exacted a description of the route and surveys to be filed in the general land office within sixty days after the survey. It granted plats of land not exceeding five acres in any one place, nor nearer than fifteen miles apart, for depot, workshop and station grounds, and it granted the right to take earth, stone, and timber for the construction of the road, from the public lands. Further, the work must begin within two years, and be completed in eight thereafter, or forfeit its grant.

A grant to the east Florida and other railroads contained similar terms, but required in addition that the companies should file maps showing the location of their roads within six months after such location. None of these roads were constructed; but similar grants were made in favor of other roads, few of which were heard of afterward.

Other internal improvements were also thus aided. The improvement of the Des Moines river in Iowa was aided by one-half, in alternate sections, of a strip of land five miles wide on each side of the river, to be

selected by agents appointed by the governor of the territory, and approved by the secretary of the treasury. The lands should not be disposed of for less than the minimum price of public lands; nor should more than \$30,000 worth be sold before a cessation of sales during which the territory or state should certify to the president of the United States that one half that amount had been expended upon the improvement, after which land enough might be sold to replace the amount expended, and so on.

A grant to Wisconsin for the purpose of improving the Fox and Wisconsin rivers, gave alternate sections in a strip three miles wide on both sides of Fox river and the lakes through which it passed, from its mouth to the point where the portage canal should enter, and on each side of the canal, from one stream to the other. Both of these acts declared the improved rivers public highways forever for the use of the government; and the sections reserved to the United States were not to be sold for less than \$2.50 per acre, nor were the granted lands to be sold for less than \$1.25 per acre. A provision regarding the sale of lands, similar to that in the grant to Iowa, was made, but limiting the amount to \$20,000 instead of \$30,000. The improvement of the river in Iowa was subsequently abandoned, and the Keokuk, Fort Des Moines and Minnesota railroad constructed with the grant. Various grants were made which produced little improvement.

To John Wentworth, member of congress from Illinois, belonged the credit or discredit, as might appear, of introducing a bill, December 21, 1847, to grant the right of way to all railroads which should be constructed over the public lands, and Orlando B. Ficklin of the same state, of the authorship of a bill granting lands to aid in the construction of the Illinois Central railroad, the Terre Haute and St Louis railroad, and the Northern Cross railroad, of Illinois.

In January 1848 Stephen A. Douglas, senator from Illinois, proposed a bill granting a right of way, and a donation of public lands to aid in constructing a railroad from the upper and lower Mississippi to Chicago, which passed the senate on the 3d day of May by twenty-four yeas to eleven nays, but which failed in the lower house by only four votes. At the next session Senator Breese brought in a bill which, in recommending it to pass, he said did not grant a foot of land to the state of Illinois as a donation, "such as Ohio and Indiana had received," but only secured the right of way, and the right to preëempt the unsold public lands along the line of the road, for which it proposed to pay the government price. Even this seemingly reasonable proposition, which was passed by the senate, found no favor in the lower branch of the national legislature. What if the government price of the lands should be paid, would that prevent a giant monopoly arising on so extensive a purchase?

The Illinois Central had been commenced in 1836, and about \$1,000,000 expended upon it by the state of Illinois, which subsequently let it to a company. The company failing to go on with the construction of the road, returned its charter to the state, which at the period here spoken of was making an effort to complete the work by the aid of congress. The bill dragged along from session to session, during which time congressmen and senators compared opinions concerning the authority of congress to do what from time it had always done—make the public lands pay for such improvements as redounded most certainly to the public benefit, such as education, transportation, the care of the insane, and the deepening of rivers and harbors. The many sided question required perhaps all the study given it, and justified the dalliance, and the javelin-thrusts of wit with which its discussion was protracted, while the debators were evidently drifting nearer and nearer to magnanimity of feeling which made the disposal of the national heritage

as gratifying as the allotment of prizes at a festival.

In this mood the Illinois Central railroad bill was discussed in the spring of 1850. It proposed to grant to the state of Illinois, for the construction of a railway from the southern terminus of the Illinois and Michigan canal to a point at or near the junction of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, with a branch to Chicago, and another to Galena, the right of way 200 feet in width, and the necessary materials of earth, stone, timber, and so on; the legislature of the state to furnish a survey of the route to the general land office. It further granted for the same purpose, all the even numbered sections for six miles on each side of the road for the whole distance—supposed to be about 400 miles—with indemnity for such lands within these limits as might have been sold or preempted; the construction of the road to be commenced simultaneously at both ends, and completed within a certain time. The odd sections remaining to the United States should not be sold for less than double the minimum price of public lands, but no restriction was placed upon the price of railroad lands.

It was stated in debate that the land granted had been in the market for twenty-five or thirty years without finding purchasers even at a dollar and a quarter an acre, although for the most part excellent agricultural soil, and therefore if the construction of a railroad doubled the value of the same number of acres given away or applied to this improvement, the nation as proprietor sustained no wrong. But the question was asked: Who then paid for the road? Was it not the settlers, who were charged double the usual price for government land? Wherein was the liberality of the government? The United States would have finally lost nothing, though the state of Illinois would be able to undersell them until its cheaper lands were disposed of. It was then decided to raise the price of all the lands in the twelve-mile-wide belt from Chicago to Cairo.

William R. King of Alabama secured an amendment which embraced the Ohio and Mobile railroad bill, making the title to the Central Illinois railroad bill read: An act granting the right of way, and making a grant of land to the states of Illinois, Mississippi, and Alabama, in aid of the construction of a railroad from Chicago to Mobile—in which form the act was passed and approved at the second session of 1849–50.

This was the first great railroad grant, extending from the great lakes to the gulf of Mexico; and it is a little remarkable that a railway to the Pacific should have so caught the popular sympathy, and not the one from Chicago to Mobile, for outside of congress there was no enthusiasm over this latter splendid enterprise. The whole line in Illinois was put under contract in 1852, and 10,000 men found employment upon it at an annual expenditure of \$3,700,000. Ten years had been allowed for its completion, and in 1861 it was fully equipped and in operation throughout. The company to which the state had surrendered it had then realized \$16,250,000, while the whole grant was estimated to be worth \$40,000,000. The state of Illinois was populated and enriched by it. Subsequently its line was extended to New Orleans, at one point crossing the Mobile and Ohio, these two being among the longest roads east of the Mississippi.

Nothing strikes the mind with greater wonder, while remembering the cost of railroads, than a study of a modern railroad map of the whole country. It is scarcely thirty years since the Illinois Central was completed. Now, every state from Massachusetts to the western border of Iowa and Missouri is closely lined with them. We involuntarily exclaim, What labor and what resources! In these achievements far-off California was a participant, inasmuch as the production of \$50,000,000 a year in gold was a stimulant to national vigor. It was undoubtedly true, also, that the continued agitation of the Pacific rail-

road question, and the constant iteration of arguments in favor of land grants, supported by example of the Illinois Central, caused the files of congress to be crowded with applications for subsidies from all the states created out of the public lands. At the session of 1850-1 these petitions were numerous; nor were the southern states, which had objected to internal improvements by the general government, at all behind the others. The Mississippi and Atlantic railroad company asked for a right of way through the state of Illinois. The Green Bay and St Paul railroad company asked for a right of way and a donation of public land to aid in the construction of its road. The New Haven and New London railroad company asked for a right of way. Another bill asked for aid in constructing a railroad from Martinsville to Franklin, Indiana, via Morgantown; another for aid to a railway from Hannibal to St Joseph, Missouri; another from St Louis to the western border of the state; another for aid in constructing a railroad from St Louis via Little Rock, Arkansas, to some point on Red river, and for branches to the Mississippi and Fort Smith; another for a grant of lands to the states of Louisiana, Mississippi, Indiana, and Illinois, to aid in the construction of a railroad from Madisonville in Louisiana to Jackson in Mississippi; another to grant alternate sections of the public lands along the line of a railroad from the Atlantic to the gulf of Mexico, in Florida; and still another for a land grant to aid the states of Louisiana and Arkansas in building a railway from Fulton on Red river to Providence on the Mississippi. These were all senate bills.

In the house were the following: A bill granting right of way through the public lands to the Northern Indiana and Buffalo and Mississippi railroad; a bill granting right of way to the Tennessee Mississippi and Alabama railroad company; a bill granting land to Ohio for the construction of a railroad; a bill

granting land to Pennsylvania for the construction of the Pennsylvania railroad, the Pittsburg and Connells-ville railroad, and the Ohio and Pennsylvania railroad ; and the same to a Pennsylvania company not named in the bill ; a bill granting right of way and a grant of land to the state of Illinois to construct a railroad from Naples to the Illinois river, thence westward to the Mississippi, and from Springfield to the eastern line of the state ; a bill granting land to complete the Northern Cross railroad from Danville, Illinois, through Champaign county and Springfield to Quincy, on the Mississippi river ; a bill granting land to the Virginia and Tennessee railroad company ; a bill granting 500,000 acres of land to the Hempfield and Ohio railroad ; a bill granting aid to the construction of the Virginia and Tennessee and Central railroad ; a bill granting lands to the state of Kentucky to aid in the construction of the Maysville and Lexington, Covington and Lexington Louisville and Nashville, and Maysville and Big Sandy railroads ; a bill granting land to Illinois for a railroad from a point opposite Terre Haute, Indiana, to Illinois Town, Illinois ; a bill granting land to Missouri to construct a railroad from the western line of the state near Fort Scott, to a point on the road leading from St Louis to Little Rock in Arkansas ; a bill granting lands to Maine to aid in the construction of the Atlantic and St Lawrence railroad ; a bill to aid in the construction of a railroad from the Virginia line to Knoxville in East Tennessee ; a bill to grant land to Tennessee to aid in the construction of a railroad ; a bill to grant land to Pennsylvania to construct the Junction and Williamsport railroad, and aid in the completion of the Williamsport and Elmira railroad ; a bill granting lands to Florida and Alabama to construct a railroad from Pensacola bay, in Florida, to Montgomery, in Alabama ; and a bill granting lands to Alabama to construct the Mobile and Girard railroad. This was truly a formidable assault on the land department of

the government, especially when coupled with the previous grant to the Illinois Central, and Mobile and Ohio railroads, and with Benton's bill "providing for the location and construction of a national highway, consisting of a railroad and common road from the Mississippi river at St Louis to the bay of San Francisco and the Pacific ocean, and to extinguish the Indian title to lands along the said highway, and to establish military posts, and grant land to the settlers thereon."

In spite of the ambiguity of the latter part of the above sentence, the reader knows, being by this time familiar with the subject, that it was the land and not the posts which the senator proposed for settlement. The bill "to set apart and sell to Asa Whitney of New York a portion of the public lands to enable him to construct a railroad from Lake Michigan or the Mississippi to the Pacific," and other Pacific railroad bills were at the same time before congress. At the session of 1851-2 there was an increasing number of applications for land grants, which, although the greater number of them failed, showed that the principle was recognized that the government might appropriate the public domain to the use of railroads.

It was just at this point in the history of the public lands that California became a state. By a resolution of the legislature of 1850 her senators and representatives were instructed to urge upon congress the immediate construction of a national railroad from the Pacific to the Mississippi river; and in order to facilitate the accomplishment of the work, to organize an efficient engineer corps, who should make complete surveys of the several routes previously recommended as practicable.

This measure, although unavoidable, was not calculated to hasten the construction of the railroad, as we shall see. Nothing was done to accelerate either

until Senator Brodhead of Pennsylvania, at the session of 1852-3, offered an amendment to the appropriation bill which authorized the secretary of war to employ, under the direction of the president, such portions of the corps of topographical engineers and others as he should think necessary to perform the required service, and proposed an appropriation of \$150,000, which was afterwards raised to \$200,000, to defray the expense of the explorations. The surveys were without unnecessary delay set on foot.

Before proceeding to notice the reports of the United States engineers, under the act of 1853, it will be interesting to refer to what had been done in California by volunteer explorers and army officers since 1849. During the year 1850 Joseph Walker, a private citizen, an enthusiast, and adventurer, who had passed many years in trapping beaver among the wilds of mid-continent before coming to rest on the Pacific coast, being deeply interested in the subject of a route to southern California, for the use of the immigration, shorter and better than that by way of Santa Fé or El Paso, made an exploration extending from the pass at the head of Kern river which bears his name, across the Mojave desert to the Mojave river where it turns southward, and thence northeast to the Colorado, which he crossed near the mouth of the Rio Virgen. From the crossing of the main Colorado he proceeded due east to the Colorado Chiquito, or Little Red river, reaching the Rio Grande at Albuquerque. The result of his observations was that while water and grass were of too limited a quantity along a great portion of the route for the safety of immigrating companies, the chief obstruction to railroad construction would be found at the crossing of the main Colorado, owing to the different elevations of level plain on one side, and the mesa, or elevated plain, on the other; it being his opinion that the crossing must be at or near the mouth of the Rio Virgen, or by a bridge thrown across the grand cañon

of the Colorado above, using the cliffs for abutments. Walker's exploration was of value as contributing to a more perfect understanding of the nature of the difficulties to be overcome in securing the most direct and practicable route to the Mississippi.

Following this attempt in the southern part of the state to find a proper outlet towards the east, was an expedition commanded by Lieutenant Williamson under instructions from Major Kearny of the first dragoons, which consisted of twenty civilians, and which set out from Yreka July 3, 1851, proceeding in a general course toward the locality where Captain Warner lost his life in 1849. For a fortnight they marched up and down the broken country between the Klamath and Pit rivers, returning by a circuitous route to the Sacramento at the place of Major Reading. Nothing of much value was added to the knowledge already possessed of the country near the Oregon boundary. A wagon road, perfectly practicable for a railroad to the South pass, or to Salt lake, had been for several years in use; nor could it be doubted that since immigrant wagons had passed over it into California a railroad could be brought in over this or some other pass in the broken Sierra.

About the same time the eminent Mormon apostle, Parley P. Pratt, led a company of his people from Salt Lake City to Los Angeles, via Sevier and Beaver rivers, and Red creek to Las Vegas, and thence by the Virgen to the Colorado and the Mojave valley, through the Cajon pass to San Bernardino and Los Angeles. So far as railroad facilities were concerned, this route was probably quite as feasible as any yet explored, although as an immigrant route it had far too great a proportion of barren country upon the line.

In November of this year Lieutenant G. H. Derby, of the topographical engineers, sailed from San Francisco on board a schooner carrying supplies to Fort Yuma. He doubled the southern point of the penin-

sula, and passed up the gulf to Howard point, above the mouth of the Colorado, the vessel drawing eight feet. Above this he ascended to Heintzelman point, one third of the distance from the gulf to the fort. Here he met Major Heintzelman, who furnished him with a sketch of the river above as far as the fort, thus completing a chart of the river to Yuma.

During this year also a prospecting party of miners from Gold lake, in Sierra county, discovered Beckwourth pass, which they estimated would save the immigration 150 miles of travel from the Humboldt valley to the Sacramento valley, and avoid the Humboldt desert. A party was sent out to conduct immigrant trains by this route, but it never became a successful rival of the Truckee or Carson river passes.

Of explorations from the east, that of Captain Sitgreaves, ordered in 1851 but not commenced that year, was undertaken with a view to railroad construction solely. The expedition was organized at Santa Fé, and included J. G. Parke, R. H. Kern, and S. W. Woodhouse, the object being to make a reconnoissance of the Zuñi and Colorado rivers. The exploring party accompanied an expedition against the Navajos as far as the Zuñi, one of the headwaters of the Colorado Chiquito, starting from Albuquerque September 1, 1852. From the Zuñi it proceeded with thirty men down that river to within ten miles of its mouth, when they left it, and crossing a basaltic ridge to the westward struck the Colorado Chiquito, following down the stream until they came opposite the north end of the San Francisco mountains in Arizona, when they turned south around the base of these mountains to Leroux springs. Here they again took a southerly course, turning the Bill Williams mountains at the south end, passing in a northwest course from there over a broken basaltic country to the head of Yampi creek, down which they travelled to the main Colorado, crossing it at the head of the Mojave valley, and proceeding down it to Fort Yuma,

thence by the immigrant road over the Colorado desert, by Warner's pass, to San Diego, where the company disbanded. This reconnoissance was made with a compass, the distances estimated and checked by astronomical observations made with a sextant.

The Mexican boundary survey of 1852 was also auxiliary in its character to the various railroad and other road reconnoissances, Lieutenant Whipple and the commissioners agreeing with Major Emory and Colonel Cooke of former expeditions in approval of the route from El Paso west, finding no difficulty in bringing five wagons through to San Diego. A. B. Gray, of the boundary commission, considered the most feasible route to the Rio Grande to be a crossing of the Sierra Madre near the town of Mesilla, which was in a district in dispute between Mexico and the United States, but which Gray contended should be, and which in 1854 was, surrendered to this government by the terms of the Gadsden treaty. This was upon the thirty-second parallel route.

The thirty-fifth parallel route followed by Walker was again explored in 1853 by F. X. Aubrey, who left San José, California, in July, being at the Tejon pass fifty miles south of Walker's on the 12th. The object of the expedition, which consisted of Otero, Chavis, Perear, and sixty men with a mule train, all under the captaincy of Aubrey, was to locate a wagon road from San José to Albuquerque, north of the Gila, and as near as possible to the above line of latitude.

From the Tejon pass he journeyed to the Mojave river, and arrived at the Colorado on the 30th, a distance of 300 miles, and 600 miles from San José. He says in his journal, "We brought our boat on a wagon to this place without the least difficulty, and a railroad can be made with the greatest facility." From the Colorado to Albuquerque no insurmountable obstacles were found, and he, as Walker had done before him, decided upon the entire practicability of

this route, besides which he reported finding gold, copper, and coal upon the way.

Under date of March 24, 1853, Lieutenant-colonel S. H. Long, of the topographical engineers, submitted to Colonel Abert, chief of the bureau at Washington, a project for the conduct of the surveys authorized by congress. The amount of money appropriated, he said, was too small to admit of a careful survey of the vast territory west of the Missouri, and only a hasty reconnoissance could be made. He gave some interesting facts already ascertained, as, for instance, that the average declination in the surface of the country west of the states of Missouri, Arkansas, and Louisiana, from the Rocky mountains eastward was four and three quarters feet per mile; and its declination to the south about two and a third feet per mile. Where the Platte issued from the mountains in latitude forty-two degrees the elevation was 5,000 feet; and where it debouched into the Missouri, 1,000 feet. Where the Arkansas left the mountains the elevation was about 4,000 feet, while the Mississippi, in the same latitude of thirty-six degrees, was 275 feet above sea level. The most important part of the survey would then be in the neighborhood of the mountain ranges, with the object of ascertaining the most favorable pass for a railroad. He presented a table prepared by R. H. Kern, from observations and barometrical measurements by Frémont, Stansbury, Emory, and Graham, whose explorations have been mentioned as occurring previous to 1850.

NAME.	N. LATITUDE.	W. LONGITUDE.	ELEVATION.
South pass.	42° 24' 32"	109° 26' 00"	7,220 feet.
Stansbury pass. .	41° 08' 02"	105° 24' 11"	7,200 "
Cochelops pass. .	38° 10' 00"	106° 15' 00"	8,000 "
North Zuni pass. .	35° 30' 00"	108° 35' 00"	7,000 "
South Zuni pass. .	34° 50' 00"	108° 25' 00"	7,000 "
Cooke pass.	32° 30' 00"	108° 30' 00"	5,000 "

Long suggested that these passes should be carefully examined, although he admitted the insufficiency of the appropriation. It was his opinion that the most favorable route west of the Rocky mountains led, on the south side of the Gila, west from El Paso, and after crossing the Gila northwestwardly to San Diego, or northward to the San Joaquin headwaters. He also believed that the Sierra Nevada could be crossed by a railroad either at Warner or Walker pass; the former about eighty miles eastward from San Diego, very steep and rugged, with an elevation of 3,013 feet, and the latter near the main source of the San Joaquin, and 4,000 feet above the sea, but with an easier grade, and better adapted to communication with San Francisco.

The fact that the watershed of the North American continent had its greatest elevation in Mexico, whence it decreased to about 4,500 feet in the vicinity of the Gila river, increasing again to 8,000 feet in latitude 38°, diminishing to 7,000 feet at latitude 42°, and to 6,000 at latitude 47°, was pointed out; and that from the crest of this elevated plateau studded at intervals with vastly higher peaks, the country in the direction of the Pacific was one vast mountain system, varying from 500 to 900 miles in width, including, west of the Rocky mountains, the Nevada and Coast ranges, separated by elevated valleys, with no outlet to the ocean, was strongly brought out, impressing upon the minds of the corps selected for the surveys the necessity of thorough work, and of applying their labor to a few of the principal mountain passes.

On the 8th of April 1853 the secretary of war, Jefferson Davis, sent instructions to I. I. Stevens, lately appointed governor of Washington territory, directing him to survey a route from the Mississippi river to Puget sound, the general project being to explore westward from St Paul, or some eligible point

on the upper Mississippi, toward the great bend of the Missouri, and thence along the table-land between the tributaries of the Missouri and those of the Saskatchewan to some practicable pass in the Rocky range. A depot was to be established at Fort Union, at the mouth of the Yellowstone, where also a portion of the expedition would rendezvous and await the arrival of the main body. Another division should proceed to the Pacific coast, and work eastward through the passes of the Cascade range to such point of meeting as Stevens might appoint. The eastern division was also separated into several parties. Those under the immediate supervision of Stevens were C. Grover, United States artillery, George Suckley, surgeon and naturalist; F. W. Lander and A. W. Tinkham, civil engineers; J. Lambert, topographer; J. M. Stanley, artist; G. W. Stevens, assistant astronomer; J. Moffet and J. Doty, meteorologists, with about thirty non-commissioned officers and men. They left St Paul June 8th, crossing the Missouri at Sauk rapids, and taking the Red river trail to Pike lake, where Grover was detached to make a side reconnoissance, while the main party continued on to Fort Union.

While en route Lander made a reconnoissance of the valley of Cheyenne river, a portion of the Coteau du Missouri, and the upper valley of Mouse river. Lieutenant Grover examined a route from Pike lake toward Moose Island lakes, thence south and up the eastern bank of Lake Travers and Bois de Sioux river; thence by Dead Colt hillock and Butte des Or, and through Mouse river valley to Fort Union.

A. J. Donelson, with John Mallen of the 1st artillery, William Graham, and six enlisted men, left St Louis by steamboat May 21st, and made a reconnoissance of the Missouri river, arriving at Fort Union July 3d, where they awaited the arrival of Stevens, making in the mean time an examination of the country, travelling northwest to a point opposite the head

of the Big Muddy, thence northeast nearly to the head of White Earth river, which they reached in a southwest course, following it down to Fort Union.

On the 16th of August the whole expedition moved from Fort Union in two parties, Donelson to examine the route near the forty-ninth parallel, and Stevens to take the Milk river route travelled by the wagons of the American fur company, which followed the Missouri to Milk river at the Bear Paw mountains, turning south from there to Fort Benton. Tinkham, on the 3d of September, left the main command at Bear Paw mountain, and examined the valley of Milk river nearly to the forty-ninth parallel. Thence he proceeded to the Three Buttes and Marias river, and thence to Fort Benton. Stanley also left the main expedition near Fort Benton, September 11th, and made an excursion into the British possessions at Cypress mountains, passing near Three Buttes and Lake Pakokee.

Mullan on the 9th of September left Fort Benton with a small party to visit the Flathead camp reported to be on the Musselshell river. Crossing the Missouri he proceeded in a southeast direction, passing by the headwaters of Judith river, crossing the Musselshell, and continuing for eighty miles toward the Yellowstone, where he met the Flatheads, and returned to the Musselshell, which he ascended, and crossing the Belt mountains came to Smith river, which he followed for one day and crossed, when he turned west and travelled over the Big Belt range to the Missouri, which he struck nearly opposite the pass of Lewis and Clarke, called Gate of the Mountains. From here he continued westward by the gorge of the Blackfoot river, and through Hellgate pass, following Hellgate river to its junction with the Bitterroot, coming to a rest at St Mary's mission, or Fort Owen, in the Bitterroot valley, where he found Rufus Saxton, who had been charged with the duty of establishing a depot of supplies at Fort Owen, and had

approached from the Columbia river side of the Bitterroot range, and who had left The Dalles of the Columbia on the 18th of July.

Saxton's party consisted of Robert McFeely and Richard Arnold, with Arnold and Hoyt, and forty-nine enlisted men and packers. The company followed the immigrant road as far as Walla Walla, whence they travelled in a northeast direction, crossing Snake river at the mouth of the Palouse, and keeping the same general course to the Spokane and Clarke fork, and up this stream to near the junction of the Bitterroot and Jocko rivers, where their route crossed over to the Jocko and thence south to St Mary's mission, where the party separated, Arnold being left in charge of the depot, and McFeely with nineteen men returning to The Dalles, by the Nez Percé trail, which ascended the Bitterroot to near its head, and turned west through the mountains by the Lo-Lo fork of the Clearwater—a more difficult, although shorter, route than the first. Saxton proceeded to Fort Benton by way of the Blackfoot river and Cadotte pass, and on the 22d of September started with a party on a flatboat for St Louis. His report of the route to the Columbia caused Stevens to abandon his wagons at Fort Benton, and hasten his march over the mountains to the plains of the Columbia; and while Donelson was placed in charge of the main party, Grover was directed to make a survey of the Missouri from the great falls to the mouth of Milk river, Doty remaining at Fort Benton to take meteorological observations.

Donelson moved from Fort Benton on the 16th of September, travelling in a southwest direction, and crossing the Rocky range by Cadotte pass proceeded down the Blackfoot river to the depot of St Mary's mission, after which he travelled by the route first followed by Saxton, keeping along Clarke fork to a point twelve miles below Pend d'Oreille lake, and thence to the Spokane river. Soon after crossing

this stream he met the western division of the survey under George B. McClellan, and arrived at Walla Walla on the 6th of November.

McClellan was charged with the duty of examining the Cascade range for passes to Puget sound. His party consisted of J. K. Duncan, 3d artillery, S. Maury, H. C. Hodges, J. F. Minter, civil engineer, George Gibbs, geologist, and J. G. Cooper, naturalist, with the necessary men and animals. He left Fort Vancouver in July, taking a northerly course through a country for the most part densely wooded, to the Cathlapootle river, and thence in a generally east course south of Mount St Helen and Mount Adams; thence crossing the Altanam, Nachess, and Wenass rivers, up the valley of the upper Yakima to the Yakima pass; thence to the Kittitass; thence north to the Columbia, and up the right bank of that river to Fort Okanagan, examining Okanagan river and lake, from which their route was almost due east to Fort Colville, where they turned south to the Spokane, and there met Governor Stevens, with whom they proceeded to Walla Walla, and thence to Puget sound by the Columbia and Cowlitz rivers.

There were some routes examined by McClellan's assistants, Mowry travelling from the Wenass river south to The Dalles; and Hodges joining the expedition at Kittitass, from Fort Steilacoom on Puget sound. His course was easterly to the Puyallup valley, and up the same to the Nachess pass, and down the Nachess river. Gibbs made a partial examination of lands lying between Shoalwater bay and Puget sound, proceeding in December with a small party up the Willopah river about fifteen miles, in a canoe, and continuing toward the interior on foot for about the same distance, when he was forced to abandon the undertaking by the severity of the season and the character of the country. The western end of the survey was far more difficult, owing to forests and mountains, with heavy rains in winter, than

all the continent from the Rocky range to the Mississippi.

Of that part of Stevens' company left by him in the region of the Rocky mountains, Tinkham on the 10th of October left the main train on Jocko river to examine Marias pass, which he reached by travelling northward up the valley of the Flathead river, and along the west shore of the lake, crossing the dividing ridge by this pass, and proceeding southeast to Fort Benton. On the 1st of November he left Fort Benton, returning to the depot in the Bitterroot valley by the Gate of the mountains, soon after which he proceeded to Walla Walla by the Nez Percé trail at the head of the Clearwater, arriving on the 30th of December. On the 17th of January, 1854, he left Walla Walla with two Indians, and passed up the Yakima river to its source in the Cascade range, which he crossed by the Snoqualmie pass, proceeding down the Snoqualmie river to Puget sound, where he arrived the tenth day from Walla Walla.

Grover having completed his survey of the Missouri from Fort Benton to Milk river, to ascertain its navigability, returned overland to Fort Benton, October 7th, where he remained until January 3d, when he left with a dog-train for The Dalles, to examine the condition of the route during the winter months, following Donelson's trail via Fort Owen, Clarke fork, Walla Walla, and the Columbia river, successfully to his destination.

In the following May James Doty surveyed the route from Fort Benton along the eastern base of the Rocky mountains to latitude $49^{\circ} 30'$. He remained in the region between the Rocky and the Bitterroot mountains until the 7th of September 1854, or about one year, when he left for Olympia, travelling by the St Regis Borgia river, and Cœur d'Alene mission to Walla Walla, then up the Yakima river and through the Yakima pass to Olympia on Puget sound.

Mullan, during the winter of 1853-4, made several

reconnoissances, the first being to Fort Hall on Snake river. He ascended the Bitterroot to its source, and going through Clarke pass of 1806, travelled thence southeast across the headwaters of the branches of the Jefferson fork, and south by Henry river to his destination. On returning he diverged to the east, and passed the dividing ridge, going north to Deerlodge river, and down that valley to the Blackfoot river, and the fort. In March he examined a new route to Fort Benton, which was up the north side of the Missouri from Hellgate pass, returning by the same trail. In April he explored the country between the two principal mountain ranges as far north as the Kootenai river, and not until September did he leave the mountains, going via the Lo-Lo trail to Walla Walla.

Richard Arnold in the summer of 1854 surveyed a military road from Fort Steilacoom through the Nachess pass, over substantially the same route reconnoitred by Hodges in 1853. F. W. Lander also, in returning east, made a reconnoissance at the request of the people of Oregon and Washington, who desired to have laid out a railroad route in the general direction of the immigrant road along Snake river. Not being provided with the requisite means, his examination of the route was semi-authoritative and imperfect. The route recommended by him was to begin at Seattle, on Puget sound, and to run to the Columbia via the Cowlitz river, up the north side of the Columbia to opposite The Dalles, where it would cross to the south bank and follow the river up to where the usual immigrant road turned toward a pass in the Blue mountains through which it would run, traversing Grand Rond valley by the headwaters of Grand Rond and Powder rivers, descending Burnt river to Snake river valley, following that stream to the mouth of the Bannack, which it ascended, and crossing a divide to a tributary of the southern Malade which it followed to Bear river. Here it

would be directly north of Great Salt lake, and on the line of a railroad running west from the South pass.

In order to connect with the California route proposed by Senator Benton, about the 38th or 39th parallel, his route would have to be extended along the east side of Salt lake to the vicinity of Utah lake, at about 1,200 miles from Puget sound. Connection with a Pacific railroad through Bridger's pass might be effected on the plains of the great basin near Salt Lake City at a distance of 1,050 miles from Puget sound; or with a road through the South pass in 875 miles distance. But calling the whole distance 1,105 miles to the great basin, he estimated the cost at \$26,775,000. His examinations it was said, "tended to confirm the opinion of the difficult nature of the route west of the South pass."

Stevens' report furnished many interesting details concerning matters not strictly appertaining to the objects of his survey, and has been criticised as too discursive to be of the utmost value. But it should be remembered that he exercised a threefold official capacity, as governor of a territory awaiting his arrival to organize; as Indian commissioner, to treat with some of the most warlike tribes of the northwest; and as head of the expedition, much of the work of which must be entrusted to his assistants. His itinerary furnishes interesting reading, and is enlivened by some perilous adventures.

The results of the survey of the northern route may be thus summed up. The Lewis and Clarke pass was found to be 5,300 feet above sea level, and involved grades of approach of forty feet, and of descent of fifty feet, to the mile, which would require to be connected by a tunnel two and a half miles long. West of the pass the grade would be thirty-five to forty feet to the mile; from Hellgate to the Jocko fifty feet, with a somewhat steeper descent on the west, entailing heavy embankments. From there

to Clarke fork the work would be light. The amount of snow in the mountains was not great; and as to the country which was to support a railroad, it was beyond all praise in scenery, climate, and resources.

The cost of a railroad from Seattle to St Paul was estimated by Governor Stevens at about \$117,121,000. The distance between termini was 2,025 miles which the ascents and descents would increase to 2,387 miles. The war department regarded Stevens' estimate as too low, and placed the probable cost at \$150,000,000. Notwithstanding the enormous cost, and the wild state of the country to be crossed, much enthusiasm was aroused in the northwest by Stevens' speeches and writings on the subject of a northern Pacific railroad, his statements concerning the feasibility of the work being sustained by the reports of Evans, geologist, who accompanied the expedition to the Blackfoot country, and who remained for some time on the Pacific coast. Stevens himself wrote to the *Memphis Eagle* in 1853, while en route, that after a careful study of the question, he was satisfied that if feasible routes could be found, two railroads must of necessity be built—one to connect San Francisco with the central and gulf states, and another connecting Puget sound with the valley of the St Lawrence. He had, he said, no doubt about the southern road, and hoped there would be no delay in commencing it.

Governor Stevens, after organizing the territory of Washington, and making treaties with the Indian tribes in the region west of the Cascade mountains, went to San Francisco, where he addressed mass meetings on the subject of a Pacific railroad, proceeding thence by steamer to the national capital. For the purpose of completing his hitherto successful negotiations with the mountain tribes an appropriation was made for holding treaties in 1855, and on the 16th of June we find him leaving Walla Walla with a large train—the goods having been conveyed by

steamer to The Dalles, and thence to Walla Walla by keel-boats, the first used on the upper Columbia—convoyed by a company of forty dragoons under Archibald Gracie, and half a dozen soldiers under a corporal, looking for some Indian aggressors.

After trading with the Walla Wallas, Cayuses, and Yakimas he proceeded to the Spokane country via the Walla Walla and Touchet rivers, thence to the Tucañon, and down that stream to Snake river which was crossed at the mouth of Alpouah creek. finding the country everywhere remarkably fertile. From this point he marched to the Palouse, and up its valley in the direction of the Cœur d'Alene country, passing near the outlying spurs of the Bitterroot range, and close to Cœur d'Alene lake, and crossing St Joseph river to Cœur d'Alene mission, where they arrived in eight days from Walla Walla.

From the Cœur d'Alene mission he ascended the river of that name to its source, crossing the divide by Stevens' pass and following the St Regis Borgia river to its confluence with the Bitterroot, finding the grades sufficiently light, and the bridging feasible, although the streams required crossing frequently. After treating with the Flatheads, the expedition proceeded, July 18th, to Hellgate Rond, and encamped at the junction of Hellgate and Blackfoot rivers. There he ascended Blackfoot valley to the vicinity of Lewis and Clarke pass, establishing a line between the valley and the pass without the necessity of diverging by Lander fork of the Blackfoot—a point in the survey which had been left unsettled.

From the junction of Lander fork with the Blackfoot he ascended the latter five miles through a narrow valley to another fork on the north side leading directly to the pass by an easy grade, but found the nature of the approach on the east side of the range would render necessary a tunnel. The grade would not exceed about fifty feet per mile on the west side, but would be supplemented by 700 feet of cutting;

on the east side for two miles considerable embankment and numerous curves would be requisite, but the excavation of the tunnel would furnish material for the filling in, reducing the expense. The descent to Dearborn river would be made by side location and some rock cutting. Thence the route led across Sun river direct to Fort Benton, where he arrived July 26th.

Stevens did not approve the line reported by Lander from Sun river to the Teton, thence to the Marias, and thence to Milk river, but thought a line should be taken which would lead to the Missouri at Fort Benton, and thence to Milk river. His intention to make many careful observations on the return trip was frustrated by the news which reached him at the close of the Blackfoot council, of an Indian war in his territory which demanded his immediate return. He took the route via Cadotte pass and the Cœur d'Alene, travelling rapidly, and being diverted from railroad surveying by the exigencies of his office as governor and superintendent of Indian affairs.

The route finally adopted by Stevens, commenced at St Paul, crossing the Mississippi either at Snake rapids or St Anthony's falls, thence to Bois de Sioux, thence via Fort Union and Fort Benton to Cadotte pass thence by Hellgate and Bitterroot rivers to Cœur d'Alene mission, thence to the Columbia near the mouth of the Yakima river, thence up the Yakima valley and through the Snoqualmie pass to Seattle and Puget sound; with a branch down the Columbia to Vancouver and thence to Cowlitz river, and up that valley to the head of the sound. The estimated cost of one line, including six and a quarter miles of tunnelling, was \$94,925,380, or with the Columbia river branch \$120,595,380.

In 1856 General Tilton, commanding the Washington volunteers, ordered Major Van Bokelin to examine Lander and Snoqualmie passes of the Cascade, and decide upon the most practicable route for the

passage of troops. One party penetrated the mountains by Cedar river at Lander pass, and the other by the Snoqualmie, meeting near Lake Kittitass. The Snoqualmie was preferred, and several miles of road cut, when the troops were ordered to Port Townsend and disbanded. Many private exploring parties made examinations of the Nachess, Snoqualmie, and Yakima passes, and a military road was opened through one of them to connect with a road to Fort Benton, for which Mullan procured an appropriation in 1855.

The second expedition under the provisions of the act of 1853. was placed in charge of J. W. Gunnison, of the topographical engineers, assisted by E. G. Beckwith, 3d artillery ; R. H. Kern, topographer ; S. Homans, astronomer ; J. Schiel, surgeon and geologist ; F. Creutzfeldt, botanist ; A. J. Snyder, assistant topographer ; with the requisite teamsters and other employés. They were escorted by Captain R. M. Morris and Lieutenant L. S. Baker, with thirty men of the mounted rifle regiment. Like the Stevens expedition this was provided with sextants and artificial horizons, compasses, odometers, mercurial, and aneroid barometers, and instruments for railroad surveying, their supplies being transported in wagons.

Gunnison was instructed to survey near the 38th and 39th parallels. He left Westport, Missouri, June 16, 1853, the main train, taking the Santa Fé road, while Gunnison with a small party travelled up the Kansas river to Fort Riley, joining the train at Walnut creek, and proceeded up the Arkansas to Apishpa creek, up which they travelled, taking a westward course from there, crossing Cuchara creek, and striking Huerfano creek, ascending it to the Sangre del Cristo or Veta pass in the Sierra Blanco, and entering the San Luis valley at the head of the Rio Grande. Taking a northwest course from Fort Garland, they examined Roubidoux and Sandy Hill

passes, and reached the head of the valley at Saguache creek up which they proceeded to Coochetopa pass of the Saguache mountains, descending on the west by Coochetopa creek to the head of the south fork of Rio Grande. Finding it impossible to travel through the cañons of this stream, now known as Gunnison river, they were forced to keep on the high and broken mesas to the south until they came to Uncompahgre creek, a tributary which they descended to the main stream, finding a passable route to a crossing a short distance below. Proceeding northwest at some distance from the stream, and crossing the Bunkara or Blue river, now called the north fork of Gunnison river, near its junction with the south fork, they travelled not far from the bend of Grand river, and west across Green river to the head of San Rafael branch of Green river, where the unbroken Wasatch range compelled a detour to the south, a passage of the mountains being effected at the head of Salt creek fork of Sevier river. Following the Sevier river down to Lake valley, the expedition turned south, crossing the Unkukooap mountains, and struck the Sevier again just below where it emerged from the gap through the range. At this point the company separated into two parties, Gunnison, Kern, Creutzfeldt, William Potter, and eight men going to examine Sevier lake on the 25th of October. On the morning of the 26th while in camp they were attacked by Indians of the Ute tribe, and all killed except four of the enlisted men.

The command of the expedition then devolved upon Lieutenant Beekwith, who repaired to Salt Lake City to winter, and who wrote out Gunnison's report from the papers saved from the savages. In April 1854 he made an examination of the Wasatch mountains east of Salt lake, by the aid of F. W. Egloffstein and the surviving assistants of Gunnison. The party travelled up the eastern shore of the lake to the cañon of Weber river, and up this stream to White Clay

creek, where they crossed the divide between Weber and Bear rivers, and continued their march along the heads of Muddy creek and Black fork, as far as Henry fork of Green river, which they followed down nearly to its mouth. Retracing their steps to the divide between Muddy and Bear rivers, they explored for a route to Camas prairie and Timpanogos river more direct than that by White Clay creek and Weber river, but failed to discover any, being impeded by snow as well as the rough surface of the country. Returning to Weber they followed this stream to where it turns east into the Uintah mountains, thence crossing the dividing ridge they reached the Timpanogos river, which they followed to where it fell into Utah lake.

On the 5th of May Beckwith again left Salt Lake City under instructions to explore a route south of Great Salt lake in the direction of the sink of the Humboldt river, thence toward Mud lake and across to the tributaries of Feather river, thence by the most practicable route to the valley of the Sacramento. The route followed was across the Jordan river, around the northern end of the Oquirrh mountains into the Tuilla valley, around the northern end of an intervening range, and into Lane rock or Spring valley, thence southwest passing the Cedar and Schell Creek mountains to the valley of Franklin lake, whence their route was along the eastern base of Humboldt mountains to Hastings or Humboldt pass, through which they travelled to the head of the south fork of Humboldt river. From this point, while pursuing a generally west course, the route became devious, winding in among the frequent detached short mountain ranges, on the south side of the river, but turning north to the Humboldt meadows, and west from the meadows to Mud lakes. Proceeding northwest from the lakes Beckwith crossed the eastern chain of the Sierra Nevada by the Madelin pass, and proceeding north to the head of Pit river, followed it

to Fall river junction, where he took the immigrant road of 1848 running southward along the elevated plateau between the main sierra and the eastern chain, to Noble pass road, which he followed to Henry lake, and after a brief reconnoissance to connect his late with his former line of survey, passed westward through Noble pass in the main range to Fort Reading in the Sacramento valley. From Fort Reading he ascended the Sacramento to Pit river, which he followed almost to Fall river, nearly connecting this with his former reconnoissance, his explorations terminating with his return to Fort Reading via Noble pass.

Beckwith, unlike Stevens, was no enthusiast, and had furthermore been assigned to a roundabout route. His report did not favor it for a railway. For 650 miles west of the Missouri, to Sangre de Cristo pass, no timber could be found suitable for railroad purposes, nor was there any between Coochetopa pass and the great basin. Water was plentiful, except for seventy miles between Grand and Green rivers. He found no advantages of soil, climate, or population to recommend it in the face of the difficulties to be encountered, and the attendant expense of construction.

One acquainted with the history of the western immigrations, the settlements made by the Mormons at Salt lake and in Carson valley, the explorations of travellers and California residents, and the several semi-official surveys, already reported, with the various guide-books and itineraries, is amazed that a government expedition should have so much difficulty to find a fairly easy and practicable route across the continent. That part of Beckwith's report which refers to a route near the 41st and 42d parallels might have been taken from any one of half a dozen published descriptions of the immigrant route and cut-offs.

Commencing on the Missouri either at Fort Leavenworth, 245 miles from the Mississippi at St Louis,

or at Council Bluffs, 267 miles west of the Mississippi at Rock Island, it ascended the Platte and entered the Rocky mountains at the Black hills, by the north fork, and the Sweetwater at a point 520 miles from Council Bluffs and 755 from Fort Leavenworth, and so far did not differ materially from any route from the Missouri to the Rocky mountains. Going westward from this point, however, a railroad in order to avoid some gorges in the Black hills would cross a range 800 feet above the river from which it would descend to the Sweetwater, which it would follow to its source, thus gaining the summit plateau of the South pass at an elevation of 7,490 feet, 291 miles from the first gorge of the Black hills. This portion of the construction would be difficult and expensive, costing about as much as the Baltimore and Ohio railroad.

From the South pass the line would follow Sandy creek to the crossing of Green river, and thence would run to Fort Bridger, at an elevation of 7,254 feet, the work on this section being much less expensive than on the preceding: distance from Council Bluffs 942 miles, and from Fort Leavenworth 1,072. From Fort Bridger the route would ascend the valley of Black fork to the summit of the divide between Green river and Great Salt Lake, a broad terrace at the foot of the Uintah mountains with an elevation of 8,373 feet. From here the line would descend the undulating country between the Uintah and Bear river mountains, cross the head of Bear river, and follow White Clay creek from its head to its junction with Weber river. Between this point and the great lake was the Wasatch range, which might be penetrated by following Weber river, or by ascending to the head of the Timpanogos and following it down to the lake, the distance being about the same. In either case the road would pass to the south of the lake, crossing the Jordan, and the Tuilla and Spring valleys to the west side of the lake; the work on the

section not requiring a great outlay except in the cañon of the Weber.

From the western shore of Salt lake to the valley of the Humboldt, the country was described as consisting of a level plain crossed from north to south by short isolated ridges from 1,500 to 3,000 feet high, and rising gradually from the lake at an altitude of 4,200 feet to the base of the Humboldt mountains, 1,800 feet higher. On the west side of the mountains the country was similar and the elevation declined until at the base of the Sierra at Mud lake the height was but 4,100 feet, the whole distance from Salt lake to Mud lake being 600 miles. The mountain ranges abounded in springs and small streams, but were deficient in timber, only a scattering growth of trees being seen. The valleys presented a dreary aspect; they were covered with sage-brush, and not adapted to settlement and cultivation.

As to the road, immediately west of Salt lake it would cross a plain of mud, clay, and sand, impregnated with salt, seventy miles in width, thirty miles of which would require to be piled for the passage of a railroad; it would cross the Humboldt mountains by a pass nine miles long, three miles of which was through a narrow rocky ravine, along the sides of which the road would have to be carried on the sloping spurs of the mountains, the elevation here being 6,579 feet. Beyond this pass it would follow an open plain along the Humboldt 190 miles. From the bend of the Humboldt, which terminated in a marshy lake, or sink, the road would continue westward to the Sierra by the Noble pass wagon road, which crossed two ranges similar to those at the head of the Humboldt, and reached the Madelin pass of the Sierra west of Mud lake at an elevation of 4,079 feet above the sea. In this latitude the Sierra formed a plateau forty miles in width from east to west and 5,200 feet above sea level. It was crossed by irregular spurs and ridges, thinly covered on the east with

cedar and heavily timbered on the west with pine. The greatest elevation the road would attain in this pass would be 5,736 feet, but the descent to the Sacramento would be somewhat rapid, fifteen miles bringing it to Round valley, 1,300 feet lower. After leaving Round valley some formidable difficulties would be encountered in the cañons of the Sacramento, the first of which was fourteen miles long, the second nine miles, after which for ninety-six miles the river flowed in sharp curves through very precipitous and heavily timbered mountains, towering above it for 1,500 or 2,000 feet, and for 140 miles the construction would be attended with the greatest difficulty, and a heavy cost which it was impossible to estimate in the absence of any known means of comparison. After reaching the valley seventeen miles above Fort Reading, all difficulties would vanish, and the 250 or 300 miles to San Francisco bay would be easily constructed. The distance from Fort Bridger to Fort Reading was 1,012 miles; from Fort Leavenworth to San Francisco bay at Benicia 2,264 miles; and from Council Bluffs to Benicia 2,134 miles.

Other than topographical difficulties consisted in the scarcity of timber, which was found only in the Black hills, Wind river mountains, Uintah and Wasatch ranges, and the western slope of the Sierra Nevada. Coal had been, it was believed, discovered at Green river, and at the western terminus of the Puget sound branch. The cold of winter had been found to be very severe, with great quantities of snow in the mountains, and on the plains to the eastward. From the Sierra for 1,400 miles east the soil was unfit for cultivation with trifling exceptions in the settlements of the Mormons; neither was there much grass except along the watercourses. The estimated cost of constructing a railroad from San Francisco bay to Council Bluffs via the shortest known route on this line, 2,131 miles, was stated in the report to be \$116,095,000.

Concerning the Tehachapi pass, by which a trans-continental railroad might possibly reach San Francisco, Beckwith could give no positive information. but said little was known of the country between that and the great basin, except that Frémont had termed it an "inhospitable region." The distance in a straight line from where Gunnison's survey ended to Tehachapi pass, inclusive of inequalities, was 464 miles, and from there to San Francisco 438 miles, making the total length of a road in this direction from Council Bluffs 3,025.

Beckwith ended his report with the promise that unless fresh instructions were sent him, he should in the following spring, 1855, attempt to carry out Gunnison's design of turning the range of mountains through which Sevier river passed, to the north, and if that were found impracticable, he would go through the pass to Utah lake and Salt Lake City, examining the Timpanogos route.



Oakes Ames.

CHAPTER X.

LIVES OF OAKES AND OLIVER AMES.

ANCESTRY AND PARENTAGE OF OAKES AMES—THE EASTON SHOVEL WORKS—EARLY CAREER—COUNCILLOR—CONGRESSMAN—THE UNION PACIFIC RAILROAD—THE CREDIT MOBILIER—THE AMES CONTRACT—CONGRESSIONAL INVESTIGATION—TESTIMONY OF SENATORS—AN UNRIGHTEOUS VERDICT—DECEASE—TRIBUTES TO THE DEAD—OLIVER AMES—FREDERICK LOTHROP AMES—GOVERNOR AMES.

THOSE among my readers who have travelled on the cars of the Union Pacific may probably have observed at Sherman station, the highest point on the overland route, and more than 8,000 feet above the level of the sea, a monument some sixty feet square at the base, and about the same in height. On one of its faces is carved the portrait of a great financier and railroad artificer, and on another is the simple legend, "In memory of Oakes Ames and Oliver Ames." It was erected in accordance with the following resolution, unanimously adopted at a meeting of stockholders in Boston, on the 10th of March, 1875:

"Resolved, that in memory of Oakes Ames, and in recognition of his services in the construction of the Union Pacific railroad, to which he devoted his means and his best energies with a courage, fidelity, and integrity unsurpassed in the history of railroad construction, the directors are requested to take measures in coöperation with such friends as may desire to contribute, for the erection, at some point on the line of the road, of a suitable and permanent monument."

To the name of Oakes Ames was justly added that of his brother Oliver, a man whose judgment was of the soundest, and whose business ability was of the highest order. If to the former is due the credit of taking on himself a task from which others shrank in dismay, of pushing it onward to completion with an energy that never faltered, with a confidence that never failed, the latter, through his careful and judicious management, no less than by his financial aid, must share the honors of this noble achievement. Therefore, in relating the career of one, I give indeed the leading incidents in the career of the other; and there is no more instructive story than that which is to be found in the coöperation of these two brothers, differing in many points of character, and yet both possessed of the highest qualities of leadership. They were in fact necessary one to the other, for each possessed the qualities which the other lacked. While the one might be aptly termed the genius of progress, the other acted as a balance-wheel on his far-reaching and venturesome emprise, and together they formed a combination that was all but invincible. Without them, and others like them, would never in their day have been forged the link that binds the east and west in bonds that shall never more be severed. If it required all the pressure of civil war, all the assistance that a willing nation could render, to give form and shape to this gigantic undertaking, its success alone became possible because of the brave, undaunted spirits, who took on themselves a burden that none but they could bear.

Of other members of this family it is also fitting that the story of their lives should here be recorded; of Oliver, the son of Oakes, and Frederick Lothrop, the son of Oliver Ames the elder, the former known to fame as one of the most able, upright, and popular governors that ever administered the affairs of Massachusetts, the latter an ex-member of the Massachusetts senate, and one to whose skilful management

is largely due the successful working of the Union Pacific railway.

At Bruton, in the shire of Somerset, England, was the ancestral home of the Ames family, and thence, some fifteen years after the New England fathers set foot on Plymouth rock, William, the first one whose name appears in Massachusetts annals, removed to the settlement of Braintree. From his only son, John, is traced in direct descent, through five generations, the lineage of Oakes and Oliver Ames. Their grandfather, also named John, was a blacksmith and gunsmith of West Bridgewater, and from a time-worn account-book, dating back to 1750, we learn that about the year 1773 he added to his business the manufacture of shovels. The implements met with fair demand, for they were the best that the colony produced, though doubtless in these days they would be accounted clumsy articles, hand-shaped, cumbersome, and such as only a New Englander could wield. But in due time the business descended from father to son, and by the latter was so largely developed that his trademark was sufficient to command for his wares the markets of the world.

Oliver, the youngest son of John and Susannah, and the father of Oakes Ames, was born at West Bridgewater on the 11th of April, 1779. His education was begun at the district schools, though by far the most valuable part of it was received in his father's blacksmith-shop, where he acquired the industrious habits to which he largely owed his success in life. In April 1803 he married Susannah Angier, a descendant of Doctor William Ames, a well-known author and professor, thus uniting two distinct branches of the family. Soon afterward he removed his business to Easton, near which were the headwaters of the Taunton river, affording ample power for manufacturing purposes. It was up-hill work in these early days, for as yet there were no facilities for transportation, and material and manufactured

stock must be carried in a one-horse wagon to and from Newport, Providence, and Boston. Nevertheless, the business grew apace, until it became of its kind by far the largest and most prosperous in the world. Thus shop was added to shop, and the number of workmen constantly increased, until in time the one-horse wagon gave place to the four-horse team, and that in turn to the iron horse, which carried to and fro between Easton and Atlantic seaports car-loads of raw and manufactured goods.

In 1806 Mr Ames formed a partnership with the Plymouth firm of Russell, Davis, and company, though still retaining the superintendence of his Easton business. At Easton, also, he engaged in the manufacture of cotton in conjunction with David Manley; but his factory was burned, and to other reverses were added the effects of the war of 1812, severely testing his resources and capabilities, though finally he won for himself a sure and lasting success. To farming he turned his attention somewhat later in life. In 1828, and again in 1833-4, he represented Easton in the Massachusetts legislature, and in 1845 in the senate, somewhat against his will, for he was no lover of office, and accepted it only at the urgent request of his fellow-citizens. A man of splendid physique, of expressive and strongly marked features, and of dignified bearing, none were better known among his neighbors and townsmen, and by all who knew him he was respected and beloved. With rare force of will, with remarkable energy and industry, was combined a capacity for work which never wearied. Simple in all his tastes, as became one born to serious purpose, he was somewhat pronounced in his likes and dislikes, but always with an eye to the character of his associates rather than their station or condition. A unitarian in belief, he was strongly opposed to the rigid calvinism of his day, and yet subscribed freely to all religious institutions, for in his public as in his private charities he knew not the

restrictions of sect or neighborhood. After surviving the eighty-fourth anniversary of his birthday, on the 11th of September, 1863, he was buried in the village cemetery at North Easton, where sixteen years before his wife had been laid at rest.

Of the eight children of Oliver and Susannah Ames, Oakes, the eldest son, was born at North Easton, on the 10th of January, 1804. Here he passed the years of his youth and early manhood, assisting his father in the work of farm and factory, and attending in winter the district school, where, except for a few months' training at the Dighton academy, his education was acquired. After serving first as his father's apprentice and then as his foreman, he was admitted as a partner in the business; but long before that time he enjoyed a full measure of his parents' confidence, and became in fact their chief reliance; for with all his father's industry were united in him remarkable quickness of apprehension, inventive powers of the highest order, and a rare ability for the administration of affairs.

The discovery of gold in California and Australia largely increased the volume of business, which grew to enormous proportions, and brought with it corresponding profits. To this was added the demands incidental to railroad building, to the growth of manufactures and mining, to the multiplication of public works, and to a new and rapid movement of population from eastern and old world centres to Australian and Pacific shores. In South America, in the Sandwich islands, on the coast of Africa, articles bearing the trade-mark of the firm were also in demand, and orders from China were by no means of rare occurrence. The shovels made at their works were of every description, from the toy spade used by children to the huge coal and grain scoops required for the unloading of cargoes and elevators. From 20,000 dozen in 1845, the manufacture increased to 125,000 dozen in 1870, and in 1880, 3,000 tons of steel and iron,

with 5,000 tons of coal, passing through the hands of 500 workmen, were converted into these necessary implements.

Nevertheless it was not until his later years that Oakes Ames became a wealthy man, as wealth is now computed. True, he was rated as a prosperous man, and always lived comfortably, as comfort was then esteemed, though his house was more plainly furnished than is that of many a well-to-do mechanic of to-day. In his parlor were cane-seated chairs, with other furniture to match, and its floor was bare, except for the woven rug of list-cloth that lay in front of the fire. It was a frugal and well-ordered household, one in which every dollar was used to the best advantage, and every member had his allotted work.

Like his father, Oakes was a tireless worker, taking, it is said, only a single day's vacation until long past the age when other men have ceased to work. For many years he employed neither clerk nor book-keeper, relying always on himself, and believing that whatever must be well done should be done by himself. His business affairs he kept in his head, as did the elder Vanderbilt, using only a small memorandum-book in which he noted a few of the more important items. Only his children were admitted into his confidence, and these not entirely so, for he was somewhat self-contained and reticent, as is apt to be the case with men of his power and originality. While giving to all his sons a good education, he would not have them spend much time at college or university, for in his opinion the time thus expended was so much taken from the more serious duties of life. In a word, he was a man entirely devoted to business, so much so that he had but the briefest leisure for amusement or pastime, even for the pastime of reading; not that he was deficient in the taste for literature, but denied himself the time to indulge it.

Such was Oakes Ames when, at the age of fifty-six, he made his first entrance into public life. He

was then a man of imposing presence, over six feet in stature, with a weight exceeding two hundred pounds, broad-shouldered, and with a massive but well-proportioned frame; eyes of a grayish blue, brown hair, and features clearly outlined, expressing the force of will and strength of character whereby he made himself felt as a power in whatever he took in hand.

It was now the year 1860, and throughout the land was heard the moaning of the storm which was soon to sweep with the fury of a hurricane through the fairest portions of the union. To meet the threatened calamity, men equal to the occasion were everywhere in demand, and such a man was Oakes Ames. In the struggle which resulted in giving to Kansas her free institutions, he had already taken an active part, and in the conflict that was now impending would surely put forth his utmost efforts in behalf of the union cause. Thus, in the convention of the newly organized republican party, he was nominated without a dissenting vote as councillor for the Bristol district, and to this office he was elected almost without opposition. As one of the council of Governor Andrew he rendered most timely and valuable service, for on him more than all others the 'war governor' of Massachusetts relied at this stormy and eventful period in the history of state and nation.

A year or two later, when the fate of the union still hung in the balance, and victory had so far declared in favor of the south, he was urged to accept the nomination as congressman for the second district. At first he refused, for other candidates were in the field, and for a political career he had neither leisure nor inclination. But it was pointed out to him that never in the nation's annals was there a time when men of proved ability and character were so much needed at the head of her affairs; for on the loyalty and efficiency of her legislature, no less than of her armies, the national existence depended. To the solicitations of friends and neighbors were added those of

the governor and members of the council, and from all sides came the request that he would represent in congress the people of Massachusetts. At length, on the very eve of the convention, he yielded. The wildest enthusiasm followed, several of those who had already come forward withdrawing from what they felt to be a hopeless contest. At the informal ballot he received two thirds of all the votes; at the next the nomination was made unanimous, and the popular vote by which he was elected not only gave him a fair majority, but was accompanied with many expressions of public esteem and confidence.

Entering the thirty-eighth congress, Mr Ames was reëlected four times in succession, serving in all ten years, with the greatest credit to himself, and to the perfect satisfaction of his constituents. During this period he was a member of numerous committees, including those on railroads, on roads and canals, on manufactures, and on revolutionary claims. In this capacity his business experience and soundness of judgment gave special value to his services, and there were none whose views carried more weight and received a more attentive hearing. Enjoying as he did the friendship and confidence of President Lincoln, who listened readily to his advice, he was one of the group of leaders who gave form and cohesion to the complex legislation of the time. But there are chiefs among chiefs, and as such Mr Ames was regarded, for there were none in whom the sentiment of patriotism was more deeply seated, none who were more respected for the wisdom of his counsel, for the fearlessness with which his views were expressed, and the firmness with which they were maintained.

Many were the eulogies pronounced by his colleagues long after their subject had passed from the scene of his earthly labors. Said James G. Blaine: "He was distinguished among his associates, both in and out of congress, for solidity and uprightness of character, for sterling sense, for sound judgment, for

extraordinary energy, and for manly courage." "In the community where his life was spent," remarked John E. Sanford, "there is little need to speak of his integrity as a man of business, or of his public spirit and influence as a citizen. All knew and remembered him as a man of large views, noble impulses, and generous sympathies. Whatever the cause or the measure, he was always to be counted on the right side. They remember, too, with grateful pride, his long and conspicuous service in the important public trusts which they again and again committed to his charge, and the great public works to which he devoted himself with a breadth of view, and absorbing faith and courage, a personal force, a self-sacrifice and success, for which there is hardly a parallel in the annals of private or public enterprise. But it is not for what he did, more than for what he was, that they who knew him best love and honor his memory. Oakes Ames was an honest man, straightforward in purpose and action, trustworthy in deed and word. The warp and woof of his nature were such that he could not be otherwise. There was no background in his character on which the sunlight could not be turned." And thus Wendell Phillips: "While he stood head and shoulders above all her representatives in furthering the material interests of the nation, he was equally distinguished above most of them by his clear view of what honor and justice demanded of us, and by his manly, outspoken, and self-sacrificing efforts to make that the law of the land. I held him always in special honor, and felt it a privilege to call him my friend, admiring his sturdy and straightforward honesty of life and purpose, as a type of what a true man in a republic should be."

Such were the opinions expressed of Mr Ames by his fellow-citizens and fellow-congressmen, and by the consensus of that opinion he was stamped as one of the noblest specimens of American statemanship, one without whose name no catalogue of the great ones of

his age would be complete. It was ever his aim to be as faithful in the discharge of his public duties as he had been in the conduct of his own affairs, and in no instance did he allow his private business to interfere with his obligations to those whom he represented in the councils of the nation. Under the heavy load of his responsibilities he was never found wanting, and on all doubtful and difficult questions his counsel was sought. To his country's cause he freely devoted his time, his talent, and his means, and by those who know him best in these years of tribulation and distress, it was said that no encomiums which man might utter could exceed the measure of his worth.

But the crowning achievement of Mr Ames' career, and one with which his name will ever be associated, was the construction of the Union Pacific railway, the connecting link between Omaha and the terminus of the Central Pacific. It was while a member of the committee on railroads that his attention was first directed to the project for a transcontinental thoroughfare, and none perceived more clearly that this was the great desideratum of the nation and the age. First of all, it was a political necessity, one that would prevent the threatened secession from the union of the Pacific states. The discovery of gold had already attracted there a large and rapidly increasing population, drawn partly from the south, and separated from the Atlantic slope by desert plains and almost impassable mountains. Already disaffected, they were becoming more and more inclined to separate from a country with whose interest they had so little in common, and to establish for themselves a western republic subject to their own peculiar laws. Second, it was a military necessity, and would enable the government to resist invasion and put an end to Indian wars by the rapid concentration of troops and supplies. Third, it would provide quicker and cheaper means of transportation for mails. Fourth, it would lead to the settlement of the vast and thinly peopled region

west of the Rocky mountains, a region whose area was nearly one third of the entire domain of the United States.

For these and other reasons, in July 1862, an act was passed by congress "to aid in the construction of a railroad and telegraph line from the Missouri river to the Pacific ocean, and to secure to the government the use of the same for postal, military, and other purposes." As to the terms and conditions under which the Union Pacific was chartered, the following were the salient features: The company was authorized to build westward from the Missouri river to the California line. The capital stock was placed at \$100,000,000, in shares of \$1,000 each, no stock to be sold below par, and not more than 200 shares to be held by any one individual. The right of way was granted through public lands, with the privilege of taking therefrom all material required for construction. Five alternate sections of land per mile were granted to the company on either side of the road, with a subsidy in bonds of \$48,000 per mile for 150 miles from the eastern base of the Rocky mountains, thence westward to the Sierra of \$32,000, and for the remainder of the route of \$16,000 per mile. The bonds were to be issued as earned, when each section of 40 miles had been completed and approved; they were to constitute a first mortgage on the road and its equipments, and 25 per cent of the total amount was to be retained until the entire line should be completed. Five per cent of the net earnings, together with the entire amount due for government transportation, must be applied to the payment of principal and interest, and should the road remain unfinished on the 1st of July, 1876, the entire property was to pass into the hands of the government.

Even under these hard conditions, the promoters did not hesitate to accept the grant, though well aware that without further congressional aid, to build the Union Pacific was a task utterly beyond their

resources. First of all, to secure control of the road would require an investment of more than \$50,000,000. Then there was the depreciation in government bonds and currency, becoming more serious with every reverse that attended the great international contest, the result of which was as yet by no means assured. But the most serious difficulty was the clause whereby the subsidy was made a first lien on the road, since no second mortgage would be accepted by capitalists, and yet without their aid they could not hope to receive even the first issue of government bonds.

Subscription-books were opened, but with the most discouraging results, for in such a project the public did not care to risk their means, and in financial circles it was regarded as extremely hazardous, if not altogether impracticable. At the end of a year the amount subscribed was barely sufficient to permit the election of a board of directors, and thus preserve the life of the corporation. At the end of two years little more than \$2,000,000 of the stock had been taken, and of this only ten per cent had been paid in cash, or some \$200,000 in all, wherewith to build the Union Pacific railroad, the ultimate cost of which exceeded \$70,000,000.

At this juncture a supplementary act was passed by congress, on the 2d of July, 1864, increasing the company's land subsidy, and withdrawing the more objectionable features in its charter. The directors were empowered to issue first-mortgage bonds, to which the government lien was made subordinate, the subsidy bonds to be issued for each twenty-mile section, and two thirds of them after the grading had been finished. The time appointed for the completion of the road was extended, and only one half of the earnings for government transportation was to be withheld.

But while thus strengthening the position of the Union Pacific, there were two provisions in the amended act which wrought most serious injuries to the company. One was, that the Kansas Pacific, re-

quired in the original act to connect with the former at some point not farther west than the 100th meridian, or about 250 miles west of the Missouri, should be authorized to make such connection at any point deemed suitable. The result would be a parallel road for a distance of more than 500 miles west of the river, or about half the entire length of the line, with equal advantages and facilities for traffic. By another clause it was provided that, in case the Central Pacific should be the first to reach the boundary line of California, it should have the privilege of extending its road 150 miles farther to the eastward, and by a subsequent act of congress it was empowered to extend it indefinitely, until the two lines should meet. Hence the race in construction, when culminated in the building of 500 miles by each company in a single season, and that, as Mr Oakes Ames remarked, "through a desert country, on a route beset by unparalleled obstacles, and at a necessary cost largely in excess of the most extravagant estimates."

In May of this year the Union Pacific had appointed a committee to receive proposals and let out the work of building the road, and three months later a contract had been made with one H. M. Hoxie for the construction of 100 miles of roadway westward from Omaha, payment to be received in the company's securities. On the 4th of October, 1864, Hoxie made the following proposition: "On condition that your railroad company will extend my contract from its present length of 100 miles, so as to embrace all that portion of the road between Omaha and the 100th meridian of longitude, I will subscribe, or cause to be subscribed, for \$500,000 of the stock of the company." But who was Hoxie, this man of unlimited means, who handled railroad contracts as though he wielded the resources of a Rothschild or a Vanderbilt? If we can believe the testimony of Oliver, the brother of Oakes Ames, given some years later before a congressional committee, he was simply an employé of the

road in charge of the ferry over the Missouri river. He was in no sense of the word a man of financial responsibility, and it was not even expected that he would carry out his contract. In a word, he was merely a figure-head, one to whom the contract was let with a view to transferring it to some one else, and that some one else was the credit mobilier. The same remark applies to contracts made with other parties, of which further mention need not here be made. Certain it is that none of them entirely fulfilled their engagements, and soon the directors of the Union Pacific found that they could not rely on individual contractors to do their work. But before proceeding further a few words should be said as to the origin of the credit mobilier and its connection with the Union Pacific.

The credit mobilier of America was originally a Pennsylvania company, organized in 1859 under the laws of that state, and known as the Pennsylvania fiscal agency. It was authorized to traffic in real and personal estate, and in railroad bonds and other securities, to advance money to railroad and other companies, to contractors and manufacturers, and to purchase, hold, and dispose of property of all descriptions, including the notes, bonds, and other obligations of individuals, corporations, or states. But for years the agency languished, almost in a moribund condition, and using but few of its powers and privileges, until in 1864 its charter was purchased by the Union Pacific, to be used in the interests of the company. In March of that year its name was changed by act of the Pennsylvania legislature, and soon afterward an agency was established in the city of New York, to which were intrusted all the powers of the board of directors. Here also a railroad bureau was organized, to the members of which was given the entire control of the company's contracts, subject to the approval of its president. Thus the credit mobilier was removed entirely from the state of Pennsylvania, and

maintaining there only its corporate existence, took upon itself the task of building the Union Pacific.

The stock of the railroad company already issued, amounting to \$2,180,000, was purchased by the credit mobilier, and the ten per cent deposit refunded to the stockholders. Then by act of congress the original stock was cancelled, and a reissue made, in shares of \$100 each, to the stockholders of the credit mobilier. Thus for all practical purposes the two corporations became identical, the members composing the one to which the contracts were to be assigned being also those in control of the company for which the road was to be constructed. In a word, the credit mobilier was to the Union Pacific what the Contract and Finance company was to the Central Pacific. Such was the origin of this much-abused institution, one whose workings were but little understood by those who a few years later brought down on it a perfect maelstrom of public condemnation.

On the 15th of March, 1865, the unfinished Hoxie contract was transferred to the credit mobilier, though several months before that date it had been agreed that such assignment should be made. But soon the company discovered in its turn that under existing conditions it was entirely unequal to the task. The first-mortgage bonds were simply unsalable, and even government bonds, with their uncertain and depreciated value, were difficult of sale. They were payable, moreover, in currency, at that time worth only sixty-five cents on the dollar. There was no connection with eastern railroads, and materials and supplies must be forwarded for many hundreds of miles by the slow and costly route of the Missouri river, without even insurance against the perils of navigation. For iron, ties, lumber, provisions, and all other things needed, war rates were still demanded, while labor was scarce and only to be had at extravagant prices. Under such circumstances, to build a road over 1,000 miles in length, for the most part

through a desert country, without water or timber, across mountain ranges infested with hostile savages, by whom scores of employés were massacred at their work, was indeed a task that few would care to undertake. Add to this the prevailing opinion in monetary circles, that the road would never be completed, and if completed that it would never return a profit, and there followed as an inevitable result the failure of the credit mobilier to carry forward its work, until supported by men with larger capital and with greater influence in the financial world.

It was at this juncture that Oakes Ames appeared on the scene, happily for the nation and the Union Pacific, but at the expense of his own fortune, and what he valued more, his peace of mind. It was indeed a heavy burden which he now took up, one that finally proved greater than even he could bear, and by the few who really knew him, by the few who appreciated him, it has always been conceded that in assuming this burden he was actuated by no selfish motives, but rather by the motives of a patriot, by the motives of one intent only on serving his country, at whatever sacrifice to his own fortune and well-being. For nearly a year before giving his consent, he was urged by his friends, by members of congress, by President Lincoln himself, to give to the undertaking the support of his capital and his well-known executive ability. When Lincoln remarked to Oakes and Oliver Ames in 1864, "It is necessary for the union that this railroad should be constructed," both subscribed freely for the stock; but as yet there seemed no prospect of the road being completed. Its securities could not be converted into cash, and when the credit mobilier broke down, all hope appeared to be at an end; it remained only, as men said and thought at the time, to abandon the enterprise, as one beyond the resources of its promoters.

Then it will be seen that when Oakes Ames came forward, it was certainly not to make money, for men

of his wealth, then reaching into the millions, are unwilling to take such risks, and he had nothing to gain by taking them. Already past middle life, he was rich beyond the dreams and requirements of ordinary men; he was at the head of a thriving and prosperous business; his social and political standing were of the highest; his past career was without a stain, and his future without a cloud. But all these blessings, his wealth, his strength, his talents, and if need be even life itself, he was willing to devote to the country and the cause he loved so well.

In the autumn of 1865, with the aid of a few associates, he increased the amount of paid-up subscriptions to \$2,500,000. But this he found no easy task. Said an intimate friend, a resident of Boston: "I remember perfectly when Mr Ames was offering the credit mobilier stock, with all the government grants and privileges, freely on State street, at 95 cents on the dollar. I knew that one of our oldest and most distinguished bank presidents declined to buy it on the ground of excessive risk in building a railroad through such a country; and that one of our richest private bankers, after a whole morning of explanation from Mr Ames, refused on the same ground to have anything to do with it. I know that Mr Ames, merely to oblige a business friend, gave him, when he took some of the stock, a written agreement to take it back at the holder's option at any time within four months. I heard one of the largest railroad builders and presidents in the country say, at a public dinner given him by his associates, that the Union Pacific was a noble enterprise, and would enrich their descendants, but that it was too big a thing for him to go into. I myself bought of Mr Ames at 95 per cent such an amount as I could afford to lose, and I thought it an even chance whether I did or not."

But to collect money in mere dribblets was not the way to carry to completion an enterprise whose cost was to be counted by tens of millions. In August

1867, less than 250 miles, or about one fourth of the entire road, had been constructed. The remaining three fourths included the most difficult and expensive portions of the route, across the Rocky mountains, across the desert, and with intervening ranges almost impossible to surmount. Meanwhile time was passing, and if the work could not go forward, the company's charter would be forfeited, and the property would pass into the hands of the government, or at best would be sold to capitalists for a small percentage of its value. In the interior workings of the credit mobilier there was also much dissension, one party desiring to make all possible profit from the construction of the road, if indeed it could be constructed, and the other looking for its profit to the ultimate value of the road itself. At the head of the latter was Oakes Ames.

For a time matters came to a deadlock, neither side receding from its position. The company's funds were dissipated, and all further contracts were stopped, though without some definite contract, let to a trustworthy and responsible party, everything would run to waste. Finally a compromise was effected, and on the 16th of August, 1867, a contract was assigned for the greater portion of the road to Mr Ames, who, it was admitted, was the only man that could be relied upon with certainty to fulfil it.

Of this contract, probably the largest in the history of the world, amounting as it did to \$47,000,000, the following are the principal features: Commencing with the 100th meridian of longitude, Mr Ames was to build 667 miles of road, at terms varying from \$42,000 a mile for the first section to \$96,000 per mile for the last. If possible, at least 350 miles were to be completed before the 1st of January, 1868, the work to be done in a good and substantial manner, and Mr Ames to furnish all necessary machinery, machine-shops, depots, and rolling-stock, at a cost of not less than \$7,500 per mile. The right was conceded to enter on the company's lands and take

therefrom all the materials needed for construction, together with the benefit of all existing contracts, Mr Ames to assume all the liabilities of the Union Pacific for labor and material supplied or to be supplied west of the 100th meridian. The work was to be completed with all despatch, and at the earliest practicable date, this being regarded as of the essence of the contract; but the road and its equipments were to be of first-class quality, and if the chief engineer should not be satisfied both as to speed and workmanship, then the company, through its agent appointed for the purpose, was to take charge of the work and carry it on at the expense of the contractor. Similar conditions were made as to grading, bridging, superstructure, buildings, and materials, all engineering work to be done at the expense of Mr Ames, the tunnels to be of the proper width for a double track, and when necessary arched with brick and stone.

Payments were to be made as the work progressed, on the estimates of the chief engineer, who should deduct on account of each section the proportionate cost of equipments, buildings, and superstructure. But if the government bonds could not be converted into money at their par value, and the company's first-mortgage bonds at ninety cents on the dollar, the contractor was to be charged with the difference between these rates and the amount that was actually realized. If from the sale of these bonds there was not sufficient to pay for the work as stipulated, the contractor must make good the deficiency by subscribing for a corresponding amount of the capital stock, receiving the proceeds of such subscriptions. The amounts set aside for equipments, etc., were to be expended under the company's direction, in such proportion and at such points as they might determine, the company to have the full benefit of such expenditure without profit to the contractor.

The above contract was made with Mr Ames individually, and not, as has often been alleged, on the

understanding that it should be assigned by him for the benefit of the credit mobilier. At the time it was made he gave no promises, and none were required of him, though the directors placed in him the utmost confidence that he would make an assignment for the benefit of all. As he himself remarked: "Of course I must have associates, but no man shall be wronged, no man shall be deprived of his rights. I am an honest man, and will see that every one is protected." When the contract was finally adopted by the executive committee, one of the conditions was that it should receive the assent of all the stockholders in the Union Pacific. But at this time the company's outstanding stock, nearly all of it disposed of to share-holders in the credit mobilier, amounted to nearly \$5,000,000, and was constantly increasing. In order to carry out the contract, it was necessary that the absolute control should be given to a few of the principal holders, for large amounts of stock must be placed on the market, and this might be taken by men whose interests clashed with those of the directors, thus causing dissensions and preventing the completion of the road. The responsibility assumed by Mr Ames was such as would admit of no half measures. The slightest error might bring financial ruin not only on himself, but on all who were associated with him, and every obstacle must be removed that might stand in the way of ultimate success.

Under all the circumstances, therefore, it seemed to him best to assign the contract, not to the credit mobilier as a corporation, but to a few trustees for the benefit of such stockholders in the credit mobilier as, being also stockholders in the Union Pacific, should execute their powers of attorney authorizing the trustees to vote on a majority of all the shares in the latter company owned by the stockholders of the former.

In the assignment made by Mr Ames, the parties

of the second part were his brother Oliver Ames, of North Easton; Thomas C. Durant and Sydney Dillon, of New York; Cornelius S. Bushnell, of New Haven; Benjamin E. Bates, of Boston; Henry S. McComb, of Wilmington, Delaware; and John B. Alley, of Lynn, Massachusetts; the party of the third part being the credit mobilier of America.

In the preamble it is stated that to construct a railway and telegraph line across the plains and the Rocky mountains would require a very large outlay of capital, which capital must be raised in such sums and at such times as would permit the execution of the contract. As a corporation duly established by law, the credit mobilier was empowered to advance money in aid of such enterprises, and was willing to loan such sums as were required, provided there was sufficient assurance that they were properly expended, and that the payments on account of the contract were applied to reimburse them for their advances. The directors of the credit mobilier fully believed that such contract, if faithfully executed, would be profitable and advantageous to the parties performing it, and were therefore willing to guarantee its performance for a reasonable commission. Both the credit mobilier and the party making the assignment had the fullest confidence in the integrity and business capacity of the trustees, believing that they would execute the contract and apply its proceeds to the just use and benefit of the parties entitled thereto.

The assignment was made on condition that the trustees should perform the contract on the terms set forth therein; that they should reimburse themselves and the credit mobilier for all moneys advanced and expended by either, allowing to each of the trustees a compensation not exceeding \$3,000 a year; that the profits of the contract should be divided twice a year among those for whose benefit the assignment was made, the books to be always open to the inspection of the trustees, who should cause a monthly

statement to be made to the credit mobilier. On these and other terms, which need not here be mentioned, the trustees agreed to accept the contract and faithfully perform its obligations. The credit mobilier was to advance the necessary funds at seven per cent, to guarantee the execution of the contract, and for a commission of two and a half per cent on the money advanced, to insure Mr Ames and the trustees against loss.

Thus it will be seen that the credit mobilier as a corporation had nothing to do with the execution of the contract. By many it has been asserted, and is still believed, that, as a man of large means, Mr Ames accepted it merely for the purpose of transferring it to a board of trustees composed of the directors of the two corporations, and holding the control of both, a board which could use for the exclusive benefit of its members, including of course Mr Ames, the subsidies and privileges granted by the government. But as a fact, nothing could be further from the truth. Mr Ames accepted the contract, because, once having given to the Union Pacific the support of his influence and capital, and that, as I have said, at the urgent request of the president and members of congress, he would not allow the project to fall to the ground. He accepted it from purely unselfish and patriotic motives, because the road was a national necessity, and to falter now would be to abandon perhaps for a generation any further attempt to build a transcontinental thoroughfare. True, under careful management it might be constructed at a profit on the contract price; but at best that profit would be small, and even when completed, years must elapse before the growth of traffic would make its securities valuable.

But it may be asked, why was a construction company needed to carry on the work? To this it may be answered, first of all, that in trying to build the road itself the company had so completely broken

down as to be forced to sell its rolling stock to pay off pressing debts. It was needed also to limit the liability in case of loss, such liability being restricted to the amount of the company's capital, while individuals involved as partners would be responsible to the full extent of their assets. But there was still another and more cogent reason. In the charter of the Union Pacific its capital stock was placed at \$100,000,000, and the books must remain open until the entire amount was subscribed. Thus, when the work was approaching completion, capitalists might come forward, and by subscribing largely obtain control of the road, while those who had assumed the risk and burden of the enterprise would be deprived of all voice in the management. By the construction company these and other perils were avoided, and indeed it is probable that under no other conditions could the road have been built at all.

Although under the assignment Mr Ames was released from personal liability, he assumed that liability of his own accord, taking upon himself the brunt of the burden, investing \$1,000,000 of his private means, and staking his entire fortune on the venture. So fixed was his purpose and so firm his faith, that he was willing not only to risk on the issue all that he possessed, but to strain his credit to the utmost. While asking no one to assume a risk which he did not accept for himself in greater degree, he prevailed on a number of his friends to join him, capitalists and men of standing, both in and out of congress, guaranteeing to many the full value of their stock, with ten per cent interest on the investment.

In truth, it was a difficult task that he had now undertaken, one such as no other man would have dared to assume, and no other could have carried to a successful issue. First of all, there was, as I have said, an utter lack of public confidence, especially on the part of capitalists, for aside from the government bonds, then selling at a heavy discount, the only se-

curity was the personal obligation of Mr Ames and the seven trustees. And even if completed, it was extremely doubtful whether the road would pay, for its debts would be enormous, and for a time, at least, the interest alone would absorb the entire earnings. The operating expenses would be heavy, and from the local traffic of the line little income would be earned, for it was believed that in most of the country through which it passed nothing but sage-brush would grow, while the mountainous portion was, of course, uninhabitable.

Though several of the trustees were men of large resources, men whose credit in business circles was of the highest, that credit was quickly impaired by the very fact of their engaging in so hazardous an enterprise. As there was no market for their own bonds, and but the slowest market for government bonds, they were compelled to hold their securities, borrowing money at extravagant interest, and pledging their first-mortgage debentures, often in the ratio of three to one on the amount advanced. Only with the most thorough watchfulness and care, with effort unsparring and unremitted, with a combination of the rarest energy and executive ability, were the final results achieved.

Then there were physical obstacles to be overcome, no less severe than were the financial difficulties. The road must be built through several hundred miles of desert country, crossing the mountain ranges at the highest elevation ever attempted on the continent, and extending through a country swarming with hostile savages, where at times one half the working force was required to protect the other half from massacre. The route lay through a region where, for the thousands of men and animals employed in the work of construction, even water must be hauled for more than a hundred miles, and material and supplies often for ten times that distance. To father such an enterprise, Mr Ames himself remarked, "might well, in the light of subsequent history and the mutations of opinion, be regarded

as the freak of a madman, if it did not challenge the recognition of a higher motive, namely, the desire to connect my name conspicuously with the greatest public work of the present century."

Nevertheless, the road was completed and in running order more than seven years before the time appointed in the original charter of the Union Pacific. Almost from the first it paid its running expenses, with the interest on all its indebtedness, and ere long was paying eight per cent dividends on its stock, besides providing by its sinking fund for the extinction of the government loan. Thus at length success was won, a success in which few believed, and which many openly declared impossible. And to none is that success so largely due as to Mr Ames, who, throwing into the enterprise not only his entire fortune, but the entire resources and energies of his nature, will ever be remembered in connection with one of the greatest financial and engineering feats that the world has witnessed. While Mr Ames and his associates were overcoming the almost insurmountable obstacles that beset their path, men looked on in wonder, and only when the great work was completed gave to them the credit which was long before their due as among the greatest railroad builders of the age.

The immense advantages of the overland railroad, not only to the United States but to the world at large, it is almost impossible to estimate. First of all, we have a saving in the mail service alone amounting to the close of 1885 to nearly \$40,000,000. In the carriage not only of mails, but of troops, supplies, and materials of war, ten times the facilities before existing have been placed at the disposal of the government, at one fifth of the former cost, and less than one fifth of the time. But these considerations are of little importance when compared with the benefits conferred on commerce, on the travelling public, and on the political status of the nation. The entire Pacific slope has been absorbed into the federal system,

and the control of the Pacific ocean made secure. A ceaseless tide of immigration has brought the government lands into market, has brought cities and states into existence, has developed mining, agriculture, and other industries, to pour broadcast over the land their fertilizing streams of wealth. The completion of the Union and Central Pacific has proved to the world that the western portion of our continent abounds in resources. It has led to the construction of other transcontinental thoroughfares. It has shown how the national domain can be utilized, and has rendered possible the development of a region exceeding in area all the states east of the Mississippi river. Its value to the nation cannot be computed by millions, nor by hundreds of millions, and there are few who at this day will differ with the sentiment uttered by a well known statesman in 1862: "If I could get the road by voting fifty millions or one hundred millions to it as a gift, I would do it most cheerfully, and consider that I was doing a great thing for my country."

Said Mr Ames himself, in a paper read before the house of representatives in February 1873: "To attempt to grasp the national benefits which lie outside the domain of figures, but are embodied in the increased prosperity, wealth, population, and power of the nation, overtakes the most vivid imagination. When the rails were joined on Promontory summit, May 10, 1869, the Pacific and the Atlantic, Europe and Asia, the east and the west, pledged themselves to that perpetual amity out of which should spring an interchange of the most precious and costly commodities known to traffic, thus assuring a commerce whose tide should ebb to and fro across the continent by this route for ages to come. Utah was then an isolated community, with no industry but agriculture, and those manufactures necessary to a poor, frugal people. In 1872 it shipped ten millions of silver to the money centres of the world, and is now demonstrated to be the richest mineral storehouse on the

continent. An institution repugnant to the moral sense of the Christian world is fast yielding to the civilizing contact of the outer travel made possible by the construction of the railway. Many believe that it has already substantially solved the perplexing problem of polygamy. A vast foreign emigration, bringing with it from Europe an immense aggregate sum of money, has already been distributed far out on the line of the road, and its means and muscle are fast subjecting the lately sparsely peopled territories of Colorado, Wyoming, Montana, and Idaho to the uses of an enterprising and rapidly increasing population. A steady and copious flow of British capital is pouring into the mines of Colorado and Utah. The Indians have been pacified; fruitless and costly hostile military expeditions, frequent elsewhere, have ceased in the vicinity of its line; and the facility and speed of communication afforded by the railroad enable the government to offer adequate protection to the frontier with a handful of troops, and at the same time dispense with large garrisons and fortified posts hitherto maintained at fabulous cost. The countless herds of Texas are moving up to occupy the grazing grounds of the buffalo, in the valleys and cañons shadowed by the Rocky mountains. A region of boundless natural resources, lately unknown, unexplored, and uninhabited, dominated by savages, has been reclaimed, hundreds of millions added to the wealth of the nation, and the bonds of fraternal and commercial union between the east and the west strengthened beyond the power of civil discord to sever."

In completing the Union Pacific, the trustees had done their work, and had done it well, and if ever men were entitled to a nation's gratitude, were entitled to the gratitude of a congress which represents that nation, those men were Mr Ames and his associates. How the former was requited for risking his fortune, for the loss of his health, for placing at the disposal of the government his time, his talents, and his energies,

for accomplishing a task that has few parallels in the annals of the human race, for helping give to the world an empire greater than all the conquests of a Cæsar, the sequel will presently explain.

No sooner was the success of the Union Pacific assured, and with success prosperity, than from every quarter gathered birds of evil omen in quest of prey. Some time in 1867, a government inspector, whose duty it was to examine and report on certain completed sections of the road, refused to do so until the company paid over to him a bribe, or as he termed it, a fee of twenty-five thousand dollars. Thus the issue of the subsidy bonds was delayed, and the work retarded. If a government inspector could demand such a 'fee' for the mere performance of his official duty, what was to be expected of others, whose claims had at least some show of justice? In truth, the company and its contract were regarded somewhat as a prize from which those might grow rich who could; and worst of all were the lobbyists, always ready to demand blackmail with threats of organized hostility.

In the spring of 1869, when the construction company was about to hand over the finished road to the Union Pacific, a concerted effort was made to acquire control of the latter through the orders of the New York courts, the conspirators even attempting to gain forcible possession of the property. Under cover of legal proceedings, their offices were forcibly entered, their safes were opened and plundered of valuable securities, and thus at a most critical period in its history, when, as was hoped, all difficulties overcome, the line was about to be opened for traffic, the Union Pacific was brought once more to the verge of ruin. Compelled to apply to congress for relief, the company asked only for permission to remove its offices to Boston. The request was granted; but soon another difficulty occurred. In the face of the provisions of the amended act of 1864, the secretary of the treasury claimed the right to retain the entire amount due for the carriage

of mails and other services rendered to the government. This he did on the ground that such funds were required to meet the accrued and accumulating interest on the subsidy bonds. In an opinion still famous for its misinterpretations and faulty syllogisms, the attorney-general indorsed the secretary's decision, and only by congressional act of 1871 was that decision set aside.

Meanwhile, the road must be kept in operation, and to meet expenses and interest until a sufficient revenue should be earned, the directors, already \$6,000,000 in debt, must make further draughts on their resources. At such a time the withholding of the entire government earnings, instead of one half, as provided in the act, not only added to their difficulties, but caused a serious depreciation in the value of their securities. To Mr Ames especially, who bore the brunt of the burden, the result was most disastrous, causing a serious embarrassment in his finances, and compelling him for the first and only time in his life to appeal to the indulgence of his creditors. I need not say that his request was granted, promptly and unanimously, and that from this temporary strait he was speedily relieved, meeting all his obligations as they matured.

The stockholders of the credit mobilier were divided, as we have seen, into two factions, one of which desired to take every dollar of profit that could be wrung from the construction of the road, and the other to make its profit legitimately from the operations of the road itself. Among the former were many of the original share-holders, who, receiving no profits on their investment, had sullenly held back until, as it seemed, the entire project would end in a disastrous failure. Thus, when in February 1867 the capital stock of the credit mobilier was increased by fifty per cent, and the new stock apportioned among the share-holders, with an equal quantity of Union Pacific bonds added as a bonus, many of the

share-holders refused their pro rata even on these terms, absolutely refusing on any terms to risk another dollar in the venture. But no sooner did Mr Ames take hold of the matter, throwing into it his whole heart and strength, and infusing new life into what had been deemed a moribund enterprise, than these men, forgetting their former reluctance, came forward to demand their share, and for the profits which were now in prospect, and which belonged of right to others, there were no more eager claimants.

Until after the date of the Ames contract, and of its assignment to the seven trustees, the construction stock had been sold with extreme difficulty, and at a heavy discount, much of it remaining in the hands of Mr Ames and his associates. It was, of course, their object to sell it, if possible, to capitalists, even at a sacrifice, with a view to secure their coöperation; but this was seldom possible. As a member of congress and a successful business man of unblemished repute, Mr Ames was frequently consulted by his fellow-members with regard to their investments. Acting in perfect good faith, for he had full confidence in its ultimate value, he recommended the stock of the credit mobilier, and in this stock, placed in his hands for sale as agent of the company, certain of the senators and representatives invested or promised to invest a portion of their surplus funds. Some of them were capitalists, and for a few who were not, but were among his personal friends, he agreed to carry or hold for their account, without payment, a small number of shares, giving them all the benefits of any rise in their market value, and taking on himself the risk of a loss. But in all such instances the transaction was regarded as a sale, the amount at which the stock was valued, at the time it was so held or carried, to be returned to Mr Ames, with interest, whenever the shares were disposed of. Surely such transactions were perfectly legitimate, and neither Mr Ames himself, nor those who bought or agreed to buy the stock,

nor any one else whether in or out of congress, had a word to say against them. It was a stock in which every one had a right to invest, and if it was liable to fluctuations, so were United States bonds; so was bank stock; so was merchandise; and so for that matter was even gold itself.

A few months later, when work on the Union Pacific was commenced in earnest, when the crisis was passed, when through the personal efforts and support of Mr Ames the completion of the road had become a certainty, the shares of the credit mobilier appreciated largely in value, for handsome dividends were already assured. And now Mr Ames was besieged with applicants for the stock that remained in his hands, but in every instance he refused to sell; it was already promised, and he would not break his faith. Certainly he had not in the first instance favored the congressmen, for at the very time when he agreed to sell them the stock at par and interest he had offered it in vain to Boston capitalists, whose aid he wished to secure, at ninety-five cents on the dollar. But now that its value was enhanced, the former should have the benefit, and on returning to Washington for the ensuing session of congress, he made arrangements to have it transferred to the several parties.

At a meeting of the principal stockholders in the credit mobilier, during the winter of 1867-8, Mr Ames asked for the transfer into his own name of 650 shares still remaining in the hands of the company, in order that he might fulfil the obligations which, as the company's agent, he had made with certain of his friends. But at this meeting a similar request was made by the president, T. C. Durant, who also stated that he had promised the stock to his friends. Still a third claimant was one H. S. McComb, who claimed 250 shares of the original stock, for which he had agreed to subscribe in March 1866, together with the increase of fifty per cent, or 375 shares in all. But to this claim the other stockhold-

ers objected, and after much discussion it was finally arranged that the surplus be divided between Mr Durant and Mr Ames, giving to the former 370 shares and to the latter 280. Thereupon an agreement to that effect was drawn up and signed by the shareholders present and by H. S. McComb. By the latter it was afterward asserted that he never read this document; but it has since been clearly proved that he was perfectly aware of its contents, and that at first he refused his signature on the ground that it did not recognize his claim.

Thus, with the full consent of the leading stockholders, Mr Ames secured at least a portion of the shares that he had promised to his friends, paid their par value, and over them the company had no further control. Still McComb claimed the 375 shares, stating that they had been given to Mr Ames for distribution to members of congress, with a view to influence legislation; that they had been presented to them as a gift or sold far below their value, and in either case were in the nature of a bribe. Even the list received from Mr Ames of the congressmen to whom the stock had been transferred was falsified. As to these accusations, let the reader judge for himself. First of all, the list contained the names of men who had never been in any way connected with the credit mobilier, and of others whose reputation was beyond reproach, such men as James G. Blaine, as Schuyler Colfax, and George S. Boutwell. Then, as to the stock which McComb claimed for himself, the facts are these: On subscribing for his shares, he gave to the treasurer of the company a draft for \$25,000, which draft was protested. Thereupon he asked that the subscription be kept open for a time, until he could raise the amount required, and to this the company assented. After several weeks McComb requested the entire transaction be cancelled, and to this it also agreed. For a year and a half nothing more was heard of the matter, and only when the

stock became valuable was the McComb demand renewed. Entering the office one day, when Mr Ames was conversing with Thomas C. Durant, John B. Alley, and another of the directors, he renewed his demand; but was told that all obligations between himself and the company had long since been annulled. In answer he threatened to bring suit, and this he did toward the close of 1868, in the courts of Pennsylvania, after signing the agreement whereby the stock was divided between Ames and Durant.

Meanwhile, some correspondence had passed between Ames and McComb, whose relations were as yet of a friendly character, the former explaining that he had made such disposition of the stock as would improve the status and influence of the company. The letters were written hastily and confidentially, and framed for a purpose entirely different from that to which they were afterward applied. Least of all was it supposed that there could be ascribed to them the imputation of corrupting members of congress. The small amounts of stock disposed of to the several members with whom he had dealings, the fact that its purchase was never urged, and the open manner in which the transactions were concluded, were of themselves a sufficient refutation of the charges preferred. Moreover, a long and busy career, passed in pursuits alike honorable to himself and beneficial to mankind, a reputation free from all stain, one unsullied by any breath of just reproach, these should alone have carried sufficient weight to outbalance the mere unguarded statements of confidential communications.

Slowly the lawsuit dragged its length along, until in 1872, losing all hope of a favorable issue, the plaintiff resorted to more desperate measures. Through his counsel he stated that his letters contained evidence of bribery, that if made public they would ruin many a prominent man, among others some of his nearest friends, and would bring disgrace on himself and all connected with the matter. He would keep

the affair a secret for \$100,000. To this Mr Ames replied that he had never entertained any thought of bribery, that he had never attempted to influence any member of congress by gifts or anything else of pecuniary value, that he had never written any such letters as those which McComb claimed to hold, and that those which he had actually written did not contain any expressions that would bear the interpretation placed on them. Whatever he had done or written, he was perfectly willing that the world should know. Finally the letters, one of them containing the names of congressmen, were produced in court, and thus were placed before the public in the columns of the press.

And now came a political Waterloo. In the autumn of 1872 a strong reaction had set in against various real and imaginary abuses on the part of the government, and especially against its wasteful expenditure. Exaggerated reports were published as to the profits of the credit mobilier, and among other things the records of the Pennsylvania court, giving the names of several politicians who, it was alleged, had received the benefit of these profits. The result was a profound sensation, which was further intensified by the divulgence of grave official scandals. A hue-and-cry was raised against what the newspapers termed 'the credit mobilier frauds,' and presently a reign of terror ensued. Some of the congressmen who had purchased the stock, becoming alarmed, returned it, receiving back their money with interest; some who had agreed to take it declined to do so, and others declared that they had never invested a dollar in the enterprise or received a dollar of its profits, either directly or indirectly. A general election was at hand, and a panic arose among men in power whose reputation was involved. Those whose names were not on the list were only too willing to cast reproach on the names of their rivals, and many implicated in other transactions that would not bear

the light of day were in constant dread of exposure. The air was filled with evil rumors, and those whose character was before above suspicion suffered in common with the rest from the imputation of political jobbery.

It was impossible to ignore the onslaught made by the press throughout the country on members of congress, and at the opening of the session, in December 1872, James G. Blaine, speaker of the house, asked that a committee be appointed to investigate the charges preferred. Thereupon the following resolution was passed without a dissenting vote:

“Whereas, accusations have been made in the public press, founded on the alleged letters of Oakes Ames, a representative from Massachusetts, and upon the alleged affidavit of Henry S. McComb, a citizen of Wilmington, in the state of Delaware, to the effect that members of this house were bribed by Oakes Ames to perform certain legislative acts for the benefit of the Union Pacific railway company, by presents of stock in the credit mobilier of America, or by presents of a valuable character derived therefrom; therefore,

“Resolved, that a special committee of five members be appointed by the speaker pro tempore, whose duty it shall be to investigate and ascertain whether any member of this house was bribed by Oakes Ames, or any other person or corporation, in any matter touching his legislative duty.”

As soon as the preliminaries could be arranged, the committee entered on its duties, and for some two months remained in session, examining all who could give information on the charges to be investigated. The members were Luke L. Poland, of Vermont; Nathaniel P. Banks, of Massachusetts; James P. Beck, of Kentucky; William E. Niblack, of Indiana; and George W. McCrary, of Iowa. From the name of the chairman it was termed the Poland committee.

At first the investigation was conducted in secret,

as was the custom in such cases; but soon the popular clamor, together with the garbled reports that appeared in the press, compelled the committee to throw open their doors. The proceedings, it was declared, must be held in the face of day; nothing must be hidden from the people's gaze, nor aught extenuated. It was enough that they had been robbed in the construction of the railroad, and that members of congress had been bribed. Surely there is no more ludicrous spectacle than the public in one of its fits or freaks of virtuous indignation. For years they will tolerate the most flagrant abuses without complaint, and then on some trifling provocation, or without provocation at all, break forth into a paroxysm of ire and resentment. Then woe unto those who chance to be their victims, since victims they will surely have, selecting them often among the most upright and honorable of men, for detraction, like death, loves a shining mark.

Now that the voice of slander is hushed, and the dust of political controversy has cleared away, the proceedings appear as though directed against one whom all had determined to offer as a sacrifice. And that one was Mr Ames. To appease the popular clamor, the leaders of the reigning party knew not which way to turn, and when the doors of the committee-room were opened they saw at once that it was useless to conceal or palliate the offences charged, if offences there were. Vindication was less easy than the offer of a victim; and as Oakes Ames was the one for whom both press and public hungered, on him the blow must fall, the sacrificial knife descend. In vain he gave his evidence in the most truthful and straightforward manner, without concealment or prevarication, and as a man incapable of falsehood in any form. In vain he verified from his memorandum-book the simple, business-like agreements made with congressmen some years before, to purchase construction stock. In this time of panic, when everything

depended upon his testimony, he was denounced by friend and foe alike, all of whom sought to excuse themselves at whatever cost to the man whom their own false statements defamed.

The main cause of trouble came from the denial by certain members of congress, on the eve of a general election, that they had ever taken, or agreed to take, or had anything to do with the credit mobilier stock. By these men it was supposed that, when the investigation came, Mr Ames would help them out of the difficulty by confirming their denial, and thus would clear them from all blame. But they had reckoned without their host, not supposing that the inconvenient factor of truth would enter into the question. There was in fact only one honorable means of escape from the dilemma, and that was to acknowledge, as some few did, that they had purchased the stock, as they had a right to do, and for so doing were never placed under the ban of condemnation. It was not the purchase that wrought the mischief, but the denial or prevarication, causing the credit mobilier to be stamped as some mysterious power for evil, as a vehicle for political corruption, and that by men who had not the least conception what it really was, what were its purposes, or what it had accomplished.

The entire proceedings were indeed without a precedent in the history of the national legislature, relating as they did to the conduct of men who, even if proved guilty, could not be punished by action on the part of congress, or by any proceedings in law. The offence, if any existed, had been committed years before, and could not come within the cognizance of a legislative body which then had no existence. In truth, the investigation was merely the result of a political panic, of the predetermined purpose of the party then in power to shield itself from public censure by making a vicarious sacrifice. To satisfy the popular indignation something must be done, and nothing was so easy as to throw the blame on Oakes

Ames and the credit mobilier. By Mr Ames it was frankly admitted that he had sold or promised the stock to members of congress, but for a stated price, and for what was then its market value. On this point the issue mainly turned, for if he had not disposed of it for less than its actual value, it could not have been used to secure legislative action in his favor.

The first witness examined by the committee was McComb, who stated that, in conversation with Mr Ames, the latter had admitted having used the stock of the credit mobilier, with a view to influence members of congress in favor of the Union Pacific, that he had told him such was his intention in asking for the 650 shares then in the company's hands. He also produced, with many unfavorable comments, the letters already mentioned, stating that Mr Ames had written them in confidence, that he had several times admitted that the stock had been placed in his hands for the purpose of influencing legislation, and that he had offered it at par at a time when it was worth far more than that price.

In support of these charges there was no other evidence than that of McComb, whose hostility was caused merely by his failure to obtain for himself the shares allotted to Mr Ames. After giving in payment of his subscription a protested draft, he had cancelled that subscription by consent of the committee, a year or two afterward, when the stock became valuable, renewing his forfeited claim. He had then attempted to coerce the man whom he now accused, had on his own statement betrayed the confidence reposed in him, and now most grossly misinterpreted the confidential letters addressed to him on the company's affairs. His testimony stood entirely alone, for in support of his accusations no other evidence was offered, and against them was that of Mr Ames, who flatly contradicted him at every point.

It was positively denied by Mr Ames that he had

held such conversation with McComb as the latter asserted, that he had ever made such admissions, and that it had never entered into his mind to use the stock for the purpose of influencing legislation. He had sold it or promised it to members of congress when it was not above par, and when it was difficult to dispose of to the public, though believing it to be a good investment, and one that would sooner or later return a considerable profit. As to corrupting legislation, the charge was simply absurd; for no further legislation, even of a favorable character, was needed by the Union Pacific, and adverse measures there was no reason to apprehend. The letters written to McComb were simply in response to his own, and in answer to his inquiries. They were written mainly with a view to discourage further attempts to gain possession of the stock, and to show that he himself was working, not for his own personal benefit, but for the common benefit of all concerned in the enterprise. They were written for a specific purpose, and under the pressure of business, in familiar and unguarded language, without the least expectation that they would ever be published to the world.

The remaining testimony referred mainly to the sale or disposal of the stock, and by all the witnesses it was agreed that this had occurred soon after the meeting of congress for the session of 1867-8. It was shown by the records that no measures touching the Pacific railroads were then before the national legislature, and that none were introduced for nearly two years after their completion. But from the mass of evidence laid before the committee a few brief extracts will suffice. And first of all I will give that of Schuyler Colfax, James G. Blaine, and George S. Boutwell, all of whose names were on the list furnished by McComb as receiving stock as a gift, or at prices far below the value, and in the nature of a bribe.

"I state explicitly," said Mr Colfax, then vice-

president of the United States, "that no one ever gave or offered to give me any shares of stock in the credit mobilier or Union Pacific railway. I have never received, or had tendered to me, any dividends in cash, stock, or bonds, accruing upon any stock in either of said organizations. And neither Mr Ames, nor any other person connected with either of said organizations, ever asked me to vote for or against any measures affecting the interests of either, directly or remotely, or to use any personal or official influence in their favor." He then explained that some five years before, when conversing with Mr Ames on the floor of the house, of which both were members, the latter had spoken so favorably of the prospects of the credit mobilier that he expressed a wish to purchase 20 or 30 shares as soon as he could spare the money. It was agreed that he should take 20 shares at par and interest, and on these he soon afterward paid a deposit of \$500. A few weeks later, hearing that disputes between the leading stockholders would probably lead to prolonged litigation, he asked to withdraw his subscription, which was cancelled by mutual consent.

James G. Blaine testified that he was recommended to subscribe for ten shares, merely as an investment, but after consideration decided not to take them, never did take them, never paid or received anything on account of them, and never had any interest, direct or indirect, in credit mobilier stock, or stock of the Union Pacific. To the same effect spoke George S. Boutwell, who was said to have been a holder of the stock, but declared that he had never been in any way connected with the credit mobilier.

Said another witness: "I had no idea of wrong in the matter. Nor do I now see how it concerns the public. No one connected with either the credit mobilier or the Union Pacific railroad ever directly or indirectly expressed, or in any way hinted, that my services as a member of congress were expected in

behalf of either corporation in consideration of the stock I obtained, and certainly no such services were ever rendered. I was much less embarrassed, as a member of congress, by the ownership of credit mobilier stock than I should have been had I owned stock in a national bank, or in an iron furnace, or in a woollen-mill, or even been a holder of government bonds; for there was important legislation while I was in congress affecting all these interests, but no legislation whatever concerning the credit mobilier. I can therefore find nothing in that regard to regret."

As to the testimony of James A. Garfield, which, together with that of Mr Colfax differed materially from the statements of Mr Ames, the committee found that Mr Garfield "agreed with Mr Ames to take ten shares of credit mobilier stock, but did not pay for the same. Mr Ames received an 80 per cent dividend in bonds, and sold them for 97 per cent, and also received a 60 per cent cash dividend, which together paid the price of the stock and interest, and left a balance of \$329. This sum was paid over to Mr Garfield by a check on the sergeant-at-arms, and Mr Garfield then understood this sum was the balance of dividends after paying for the stock."

As to the discrepancies between the evidence of the accused and that of the witnesses, it is unnecessary here to enter into details, since, in order to put the case fairly and without favor to Mr Ames, I have given either their own version or the finding of the committee. But in the case of Garfield and Colfax there was a serious conflict of testimony, and one that leaves no doubt that the statement of Mr Ames is the one to be believed. The following are the concluding lines of the documentary evidence of Mr Garfield, too lengthy to be quoted here in full. "Nothing was ever said to me by Mr Ames to indicate or imply that the credit mobilier was, or could be, in any way connected with the legislation of congress for the Pacific railroad, or for any other pur-

pose. Mr Ames never gave, nor offered to give, any stock or other valuable thing as a gift. I once asked and obtained from him, and afterwards repaid to him, a loan of \$300; that amount is the only valuable thing I ever received from or delivered to him. I never owned, received, or agreed to receive, any stock of the credit mobilier, or of the Union Pacific railroad, or any dividends or profits arising from either of them." He admitted, however, that he had at one time intended to take the stock, but was prevented from doing so by certain considerations, among which was the extent of his personal liability.

In his testimony before the committee Mr Ames made the following statements, which I give in his own straightforward and business-like phrase: "I got for Mr Garfield ten shares of the credit mobilier stock, for which he paid par and interest. The agreement was in December 1867, or January 1868, about the time I had these conversations (as to investing in the stock) with all of them. It was all about the same time. Mr Garfield did not pay me any money. I sold the bonds belonging to his \$1,000 of stock at \$97, making \$776. In June I received a dividend in cash on his stock of \$600, which left a balance due him of \$329, which I paid him. That is all the transaction between us. I did not deliver him any stock before or since. That is the only transaction, and the only thing."

And now comes a phase in the evidence in which, while omitting all that is irrevelant, it is necessary, for a clear understanding of the matter, to give both questions and answers in full.

When you paid him this \$329, did he understand it was the balance of his dividend, after paying for the stock?

I suppose so. I do not know what else he could suppose.

You did not deliver the certificate of stock to him?

No, sir; he said nothing about that.

Why did he not receive his certificate?

I do not know.

Has that \$329 ever been paid to you?

I have no recollection of it.

Have you any belief that it ever has?

No, sir.

Did you ever loan General Garfield \$300?

Not to my knowledge; except that he calls this a loan.

You do not call it a loan?

I did not at the time. I am willing it should go to suit him.

What we want to get at is the exact truth.

I have told the truth in my statement.

When you paid him \$329, did he understand that he borrowed that money from you?

I do not suppose so.

That amount has never been repaid you?

No, sir.

You regarded that as money belonging to him after the stock was paid for?

Yes, sir.

You did not understand it to belong to you as a loan; you never called for it, and have never received it back?

No, sir.

There were dividends of Union Pacific stock on these ten shares?

Yes, sir.

Did General Garfield ever receive these?

No, sir.

Has there ever been anything said between you and him about rescinding the purchase of the ten shares of the credit mobilier stock? Has there anything been said to you of its being thrown up or abandoned or surrendered?

No, sir; not until recently.

How recently?

Since this matter came up.

Since this investigation commenced?

Yes, sir.

Did you consider, at the commencement of this investigation, that you held these other dividends, which you say you did not pay to him, in his behalf? Did you regard yourself as custodian of these dividends for him?

Yes, sir; he paid for his stock, and is entitled to his dividends.

Will the dividends come to him at any time on his demand?

Yes, sir; as soon as this suit is settled.

You may state whether, in conversation with you, Mr Garfield claimed, as he claimed before us, that the only transaction between you was borrowing \$300.

No, sir; he did not claim that with me.

State how he does claim it with you; what was said. State all that occurred in conversation between you.

I cannot remember half of it. I have had two or three interviews with Mr Garfield. He wants to put it on the basis of a loan. He states that, when he came back from Europe, being in want of funds, he called on me to loan him a sum of money. He thought he had repaid it. I do not know. I cannot remember.

What did you say to him in reference to that state of the case?

I stated to him that he never asked me to lend him any money; that I never knew he wanted to borrow any. I made a statement to him, showing the transaction and what there was due on it; that, deducting the bond dividend and cash dividend, there was \$329 due him, for which I had given him a check.

After you had made that statement, what did he state in reply?

He wanted it to go as a loan.

Did he claim that it was in fact a loan?

• No; he did not.

Did you have any conversation in reference to the influence this transaction would have upon the election last fall?

Yes; he said it would be very injurious to him.

State all you know in reference to it.

I told him he knew very well that it was a dividend. In one conversation he admitted it, and said, as near as I can remember, that there was \$2,400 due him in stock and bonds. He made a little memorandum of \$1,000 and \$1,400, and, as I recollect, said there was \$1,000 of Union Pacific stock, \$1,000 of credit mobilier stock, and \$400 of stock or bonds, I do not recollect what.

It may be here explained that the "\$400 of stock or bonds" was merely an error, relating probably to the \$329 of which payment was made by check.

Have you the memorandum that Mr Garfield made?

I have the figures he made.

At this point a paper was handed to the committee, on which were the figures, \$1,000

1,400

2,400

You say those figures were made by Mr Garfield?

Yes, sir.

How did you happen to retain this little stray memorandum?

I found it on my table two or three days afterward. I did not pay any attention to it at the time, until I found there was to be a conflict of testimony, and I thought it might be something worth preserving.

Taken in conjunction with the finding of the committee, the testimony of Mr Ames is sufficient to clear him from all imputation of wrong, and that testimony is further strengthened by the following entry in his memorandum-book, as made at the time of the transaction, and laid before the committee at the chairman's request:

GARFIELD.

10 shares Credit M.	1,000.00
7 mos. 10 days (interest)	43.36
	1,043.36
80 per ct. bd. div. at 97	776.00
	276.36
Int'st to June 20	3.64
	271.00

1,000 C. M.

1,000 U. P.

After being confronted by this evidence, Mr Garfield wisely refrained from any further statements, offering no word of denial or even of explanation. Without wishing to cast any reflection on one whom the nation honored so justly as a statesman and as a man, it is impossible to come to any other conclusion than that he was trying to screen himself at the expense of Mr Ames, and that in the hope that the latter would indorse his testimony, and so place him before the world as one who was never connected with the much-abused credit mobilier. But however painful the task, at all hazards Mr Ames would speak the truth, and nothing but the truth. It is due to his memory that here the truth should also be spoken, at whatever cost to those whose names I would gladly shield from obliquy

Less discreet was Schuyler Colfax, who, through his counsel, tried to break down, by cross-examination, the evidence of Mr Ames, but at every step found himself more deeply involved, and failed to shake it in the slightest degree. Here again was produced the memorandum-book, the same one as presented in the case of Garfield. By the remaining witnesses it was admitted, with here and there an exception, that they had bought the stock; among them was no conflict of testimony, and the same chain of evidence

that connected them with the transactions which they acknowledged applied with equal force to those who denied them.

But, as I have said, to allay the popular clamor a victim must be had, and that victim was Oakes Ames. From the report of the committee, one of the most remarkable documents ever presented to congress or to the world, the following extracts will serve to show the injustice of its members:

"In his negotiations with these members of congress, Mr Ames made no suggestion that he desired to secure their favorable influence in congress in favor of the railroad company, and whenever the question was raised as to whether the ownership of the stock would in any way interfere or embarrass them in their action as members of congress, he assured them it would not. The committee have not been able to find that any of these members of congress have been affected in their official action in consequence of their interest in credit mobilier stock."

After stating thus explicitly that the accused was not guilty of the charges preferred against him—that is, of distributing the stock for the purpose of influencing legislation—the report concludes with the following resolution, one inexplicable on any principles of common sense, and a contradiction, in terms, of the finding already made:

"Whereas, Mr. Oakes Ames, a representative in this house from the state of Massachusetts, has been guilty of selling to members of congress shares of stock in the credit mobilier of America, for prices much below the true value of such stock, with intent thereby to influence the votes and decisions of such members in matters to be brought before congress for action; therefore,

"Resolved, that Mr Ames be and he is hereby expelled from his seat as a member of this house."

And this after it had been clearly proved that at the very time the stock was being sold at par to mem-

bers of congress, it was going a-begging in the moneyed centres of the east at ninety-five cents on the dollar. It was agreed by all the witnesses that the stock had been taken at the opening of the session of 1867-8, and it was not until long afterward that it began to rise. When it did so Mr Ames either delivered it or held it in trust for the parties to whom it was promised. In most instances it was held in trust, because if the transfer had been recorded on the books of the credit mobilier, the holder would not have been entitled to dividends unless he was also a shareholder in the Union Pacific and had given his proxy to the trustees. But so long as it remained in the name of Mr Ames it would be entitled to any dividends that might be declared. Hence it was that no transfer was made, Mr Ames only making an entry in the memorandum-book displayed to the committee, and when credit was given for the purchase-money, charging interest on the par value of the shares. Men do not charge interest on bribes.

But the resolution of the committee was not only an act of gross injustice; it was unconstitutional; it was an attempt to expel a member of a later congress for offences alleged to have been committed in a former one—a measure before unheard of, and without the least show of precedent. During the debate which followed, the judiciary committee reported adversely on the decision of the investigating committee, and thus it was finally resolved to substitute a resolution of censure for one of expulsion. But the house had no more right to pass the one than the other; for while congress may at any time rid itself of offending members, it can neither expel nor censure a member for what he is alleged to have done before that congress existed.

With this, however, we are not immediately concerned, but rather with the question, Was the charge of bribery sustained? It was not sustained, as we have seen by the evidence of the witnesses, nor by

the facts and circumstances of the case. All that there was to sustain it was the testimony of McComb, contradicted at every point by that of the accused, and it has already been shown that the former was entirely unworthy of credence.

The debate on the substitute resolution was compressed within a much shorter space of time than the gravity of the occasion demanded; for in a few days the session was to end, and with it ended the ten years' term of Mr Ames' congressional career. In that debate some of the most able and impressive speakers took part; but their speeches were more dramatic than judicial, and to the impartial observer it appeared to be the sole object of the members to clear themselves in the eyes of the world, even at the expense of justice and truth. But there was here and there an exception, and among the speeches in defence of Mr Ames were two of the most eloquent that have ever been heard within the walls of the house. In substance, they were as follows: It was not the finding of the committee that members had any other reason for taking their stock than that they considered it a profitable investment, or that such investment affected in the least their official action. It was not even charged that Mr Ames had urged any one to take the stock; it was shown, on the contrary, that several of those who took it themselves made the first advance. In brief, the finding of the committee was, first, that Mr Ames bribed certain of his friends; second, that they were not aware that they were bribed; third, that their official action was in no way affected by the bribe; fourth, that neither he nor the parties bribed knew what those parties were to do or abstain from doing in consideration of such bribes. In bribery, as in conspiracy, there must be two parties, and there can be no bribery unless the person bribed is to do or abstain from doing a certain thing. Moreover, a man does not bribe his friends, who are already willing to side with him, and to favor his interests; he

bribes those who are opposed or indifferent to his interests, in order to prevail upon them to do what he desires, and it was stated in the committee's report that all who invested in credit mobilier stock were not only his friends, but the friends of the railroad company.

Mr Ames was a man whose reputation was beyond reproach wherever he was known; he was a man of great enterprise and of considerable wealth, one who had shouldered a responsibility which no other man in the country would shoulder, who had invested his private fortune in an enterprise for which the aid of capitalists had been sought in vain. For many years he had been a member of congress; and what new thing had he done that was not known before? Had anything transpired as to his transactions during the present session of congress that was not patent years ago? Every one, whether in or out of congress, who knew anything about the Union Pacific, knew also of the credit mobilier, and that Mr Ames was a holder of the stock. What was the fresh iniquity that was causing all this excitement? Why was it more wicked and iniquitous to hold credit mobilier stock to-day than it was five years ago? We all knew that we held it then, and we thought nothing of it; but now, when he was about to bid good by to the hall, when he was about to take his final leave of congress, it was proposed to unseat him in the very last days of his political career. For what? For selling credit mobilier stock which he held years ago, and which we all knew at the time that he owned. We have no right, either constitutional or legal, to expel a member for offences alleged to have been committed five years ago, before his election to the house.

At a time when nearly one half the union was struggling against the other half, when the earth resounded with the tramp of armed men, in the darkest hour of our fortunes, Oakes Ames came forward and subscribed near \$1,000,000 to build across the continent a

railroad that should hold the east and west together. He trusted in his country's future, and his act was patriotic ; if to do good to his country and mankind was his motive he did well, and no man has the right or the power to say it was not well. If there is a member in this house who will rise in his place and say he does not believe Oakes Ames to be an honest and truthful man, that member is yet to be discovered. Every one believes in his testimony, and the committee itself has certified to its truth. The possession of credit mobilier stock is not to be imputed to him as a crime. Every member of congress knew it; his own constituents knew it, and so far from wishing to conceal it, he was praised by all for his enterprise and public spirit. His advice was sought and followed, not with any thought of wrong, but because men trusted and confided in his judgment. There was no guile in him. He embarked his all in the undertaking, and before he had done with it, it broke him down.

"I have known him long and well," concluded one of the speakers, "I have known him when he was a member of the council of Governor Andrew, and aided him with troops to save the country. He went forward side by side with the illustrious war-governor of Massachusetts in those great measures which filled our armies and carried on our war, trusted, honored, and beloved. I have known him since. I have seen him when ruin stared him in the face, because he had taken part in this great national work. I have seen him crushed down to earth with the obligations and debts not incurred for himself, but in the service of his country; and yet such was the force of his honesty, and such his integrity of character, that each and all of his creditors gave him extension of credit, and every one has been paid to the uttermost farthing. It is to his honor that he had to absent himself from your committee while investigating his honesty, to go home and do the last act of an honest man by paying up the last dollar of his extended debt. Such is Oakes Ames."

While the Poland committee was in session, a second one, known as the Wilson committee, was appointed to inquire into the connection of the credit mobilier with the building of the road, and whether the government had been in any way defrauded. In the report of this committee were the same misstatements and misconception of facts, showing that its members were no less under the influence of political bias than those of the investigating committee. They failed to see, or would not see, that the Ames contract had nothing to do with the credit mobilier, except for the money paid to it by the seven trustees. They did not even understand the relations between the government and the Central and Union Pacific, appearing to think that the former had loaned the railroads money from its treasury, whereas it had merely loaned its credit. They stated the profits of construction at nearly three times their actual amount, recommended that the secretary of the treasury should retain, in violation of the act of 1864, all the sums earned by the Union Pacific for government transportation, and that suits be instituted against all parties who had received from the construction company any portion of the dividends.

The report was adopted, though it has since been shown that, like the finding of the Poland committee, it had its origin in popular clamor and prejudice, and was utterly without foundation, either as to facts or law. The Union Pacific recovered in the courts the moneys unlawfully withheld by the secretary of the treasury, and in suits brought by the attorney-general against the corporation and stockholders of the credit mobilier, judgment was rendered, and on appeal the judgment was confirmed by the supreme court of the United States, that there was no ground on which any claim whatever could be established against the company. Thus, except for the expense to which the defendants were subjected, and the financial difficulties caused by the law's delay, the action of the

Wilson committee, a committee of biased and hot-headed politicians, was set aside by the calmer action of the courts.

In conclusion, let us hear the defence of Mr Ames himself, as read by the clerk of the house before the accusing committee. It was in truth a masterly effort, and by many was pronounced the speech of the season, containing, as it did, a clear and comprehensive view of the entire question, one in which argument and appeal were blended with inimitable skill. After giving a detailed account of the construction of the road and the acts of congress pertaining thereto, he relates the story of the several contracts and their successive failures, explaining how it became necessary to organize a construction company, his connection with that company, his contract, and its assignment. He describes the condition of affairs in 1867, showing that the company had no reason to fear unfriendly legislation, since not only the government, but the entire nation, was in favor of the enterprise, and loud in its demonstrations of approval for the energy with which it was being carried to completion. He showed that no further legislation was had or asked for until more than three years after the sales of stock which formed the basis of the investigation. Then after relating the difficulties of the work he comes to the charge of bribery.

"If this charge be true," he said, "it is predicated upon three facts, all of which should be shown to the satisfaction of this body, in order to justify the extreme measures recommended by the committee.

"First. The shares must have been sold at prices so manifestly and palpably below the true value as to conclusively presume the expectation of some other pecuniary advantage in addition to the price paid.

"Second. The shares must have been of such a nature as that their ownership would create in the holder a corrupt purpose to shape legislation in the interest of the seller.

“Third. Some distinct and specific matter or thing to be brought before congress, and on which the votes and decisions of members are sought to be influenced, should be alleged and proved.

“It is by no means clear, from the testimony, that the stock was sold at a price less than its true value. Unlike an ordinary marketable commodity, it had no current price, and the amount for which it could be sold depended upon the temperament of the buyer, and his inclination to assume extraordinary risks on the one hand, or his tendency to conservative and strictly solid investments on the other. It is in proof before a committee of this house, by witnesses largely interested in railroad construction and operation, and of great financial ability and strength, that when this stock was offered to them at par, it was instantly declined, by reason of the enormous risks involved in the enterprises on which its value depended. These capitalists believed that all the capital invested in the stock was jeopardized, and the venture was declined on the ground that no promise of profit justifies a prudent man in emarking in any enterprise in which all the capital invested is liable to be sunk. Apart from some proof that a small amount of this stock changed hands between persons addicted to speculation, at about one hundred and fifty dollars per share, nothing is shown in reference to its value, except that it was not on the market, and had no ascertained price. To overturn the presumption of innocence, and substitute the conclusive imputation of guilt, from the simple fact of such a transaction occurring between men who had long maintained the most friendly personal relations—of whom nothing was asked, and by whom nothing was promised—is to overturn all the safeguards afforded persons and property by the common law, and in lieu thereof establish an inquisitorial code, under which no man’s reputation is safe.

“For the first time in the history of any tribunal, this body has before it an alleged offender without an

offence. Any person accused in the courts of the country, under like circumstances, might well, when called upon to plead to the indictment, insist that it failed to charge a crime. I am charged by the committee with the purpose of corrupting certain members of congress, while it, at the same time, declares said members to have been unconscious of my purpose, and fails to indicate the subject of the corruption. In other words, the purpose to corrupt is inferred where the effect of corrupting could not by any possibility be produced, and where no subject for corruption existed. No lawyer who values his reputation will assert that an indictment for bribery could stand for an instant in a common-law court, without specifically alleging who was the briber, who was bribed, and what precise measure, matter, or thing was the subject of bribery. There can be no attempt to bribe without the hope and purpose of corruptly influencing some person or persons in respect to some particular act. Until, therefore, it is alleged and shown, not only who tendered a bribe, but who accepted or refused it, and what was the specific subject-matter of the bribery, any conviction which may follow the alleged offence must rest upon the shifting and unstable foundation of individual caprice, and not upon the solid rock of justice administered under the restraints of law.

“I shall not enter upon a discussion of the jurisdiction of this body over offences alleged to have been committed during a previous congress, leaving that question for such additional comment as the lawyers of the house choose to make. The position, however, that the fault—if such exists—is a continuing offence, is so extraordinary, and fruitful of such fatal consequences, that I cannot forbear a reference to it. Since the credit mobilier stock sold by me passed into the hands of the several members of congress referred to in the report, I have been, in the judgment of the committee, a perpetual and chronic offender against

the dignity and honor of the house, and so far as my own volition is concerned, must so continue to the end of the world. So long as a single share of this stock shall not be restored, but shall remain in the hands of the several receivers, or either or any of them, my offence goes on, and I am bereft of the power to stop it. And yet, notwithstanding the world is now apprised of my alleged intentions—and no member of congress can be ignorant of them—the parties who alone have the power, but fail to release me from the necessity of continuing my offences by return of the stock, are themselves without blame, and in no way obnoxious to the sins laid upon them. The committee declare that want of knowledge alone of the corrupt intention of the seller excused the buyer, while holding and owning the proceeds of the sale. Now that such knowledge is everywhere, and among all men, how can this, in the absence of a restoration of the stock or its proceeds, be a living, continuing, perpetual crime in the seller, and not in the buyer?

“I beg to be correctly understood. I allege nothing against those members of the house who purchased credit mobilier stock. I am simply following the reasoning of the committee to its logical results. I make no assault upon any man or class of men; but I earnestly protest against being chosen the victim of a line of reasoning and assertion, in my judgment unjust, partial, unsound, inconsistent, and inconclusive—calculated, if indorsed, to bring this body into disrepute, and repugnant to the sense of justice and fair play embedded in the hearts of the American people. .

“A vast amount of error has been disseminated and prejudice aroused in the minds of many by incorrect and extravagant statements of the profits accruing from the different contracts for the construction of the road, and especially that commonly known as the Oakes Ames contract. The risk, the state of the country, the natural obstacles, the inflation of the

currency, and consequent exorbitant prices of labor and material, the Indian perils, the unparalleled speed of construction, and the clamorous demands of the country for speedy completion, seem to be forgotten, and the parties connected with the credit mobilier and the construction of the road are now to be tried by a standard foreign to the time and circumstances under which the work was done. It is said that when the failure to secure the necessary amount of cash subscriptions to the stock was proved, and it became manifest that the only medium through which the work could go on was by a constructing company, which would undertake to build the road and take the securities and stock of the company in payment—when the whole enterprise had come to a complete halt, and was set in motion by my individual credit and means, and those of my associates—the enterprise should have been abandoned. Were it possible to present that question to the same public sentiment, the same state of national opinion, which existed at the time the exigency arose, I would willingly and gladly go to congress and the country on that issue. But I am denied that justice, and the motives and transactions of one period are to be judged by the prejudices of another, at an hour when the fluctuations of opinion are extreme and violent, beyond the experience of former times. The actual cost, in money, of building the road was about seventy millions of dollars, and all estimates of a less cost are based upon mere estimates of engineers who never saw the work, and utterly fail to grasp the conditions under which it was prosecuted. The actual profit on this expenditure, estimating the securities and stock at their market value when received in payment, was less than ten millions of dollars, as can be demonstrably established in any court. It is in testimony before a committee of the house, by witnesses who have spent their lives as contractors, as well as those who have been builders, owners, and operators of

some of the great trunk lines of the country, that for twenty years past the ordinary method of building railroads has been through the medium of constructing companies; that few, if any, roads involving a large outlay of capital are built in any other way; that a profit of twenty to thirty per cent is not unreasonable in any place, and that upon the construction of the Union Pacific railroad, estimating it with reference to the magnitude of the work and the risk incurred, no man could reasonably object to a profit of fifty per cent. The like evidence is given by a government director, long intimately acquainted with the manifold difficulties and embarrassments encountered, and who has not yet outlived the recollection and realization of them.

“So far as I am pecuniarily concerned, it would have been better that I had never heard of the Union Pacific railroad. At its completion, the company found itself in debt about six millions of dollars, the burden of which fell upon individuals, myself among others. The assumption of the large portion of this liability allotted to me, followed by others necessary to keep the road in operation until there should be developed, in the inhospitable region through which it runs, a business affording revenue sufficient to meet running expenses and interest, finally culminated in events familiar to the public, whereby losses were incurred greatly in excess of all profit derived by me from the construction of the road.

“These, then, are my offences: that I have risked reputation, fortune, everything, in an enterprise of incalculable benefit to the government, from which the capital of the world shrank; that I have sought to strengthen the work thus rashly undertaken by invoking the charitable judgment of the public upon its obstacles and embarrassments; that I have had friends, some of them in official life, with whom I have been willing to share advantageous opportunities of investment; that I have kept to the truth through good and evil

report, denying nothing, concealing nothing, reserving nothing. Who will say that I alone am to be offered up a sacrifice to appease a public clamor or expiate the sins of others? Not until such an offering is made will I believe it possible. But if this body shall so order that it can best be purified by the choice of a single victim, I shall accept its mandate, appealing with unfaltering confidence to the impartial verdict of history for that vindication which it is proposed to deny me here."

At the conclusion of Mr Ames' defence, messages of congratulation were received from the galleries of the house, and from his friends outside the house, with many assurances that his vindication was thorough and complete. All through the long hours of the debate, he had maintained such fortitude and self-control as could spring only from a conscience void of offence. Once only he broke down, and that for a single moment, when one of the members, speaking in his defence, alluded to his early career, to the struggles that had made him strong, to his perfect honesty and integrity, to the entire consistency which gave to his evidence the indelible stamp of truth. Then before the flood of emotion that for an instant overcame him he suddenly gave way, and the strong man buried his face in his hands and wept.

At his post, immediately in front of the speaker, he calmly listened to the final proceedings; but his countenance assumed the palor of death, and his impassive mien but ill concealed the workings of a sore and troubled spirit. It was in truth a bitter trial, such as befalls a man once only in a lifetime, such as only the strongest natures can bear. As he awaited the verdict he thought of the home where he was held in honor and affection by those whom he loved more than life itself, but whom the nation he had served so well was now about to rob of their richest legacy. He thought of his long and stainless career as a business man, of the priceless service he had ren-

dered his country, at the cost of his fortune, his health, his happiness, now to be rewarded by a vote of censure at the hands of a partisan congress. The purity of his motives had never before been called in question, and that it should now be questioned through the selfishness and cowardice of politicians, only added to the intensity of his sufferings. Of all the eloquent appeals that were made in his behalf, there were none more eloquent than the sight of this aged and venerable patriot, awaiting with bowed head, in silence and alone, the decision which should vindicate his name, or offer him as a sacrifice to the clamor of a fickle and unthankful public.

At the close of the general debate, a member from California moved that a resolution of censure be substituted for the one adopted by the investigating committee. The motion was carried by a vote of 115 to 110, and the substitute resolution was adopted. It read as follows:

“Resolved, that the house absolutely condemns the conduct of Oakes Ames, a member from Massachusetts, in seeking to procure congressional attention to the affairs of a corporation in which he was interested, and whose interest directly depended upon the legislation of congress, by inducing members of congress to invest in the stocks of said corporation.”

And now followed a scene which is probably without a parallel in the annals of the national legislature. Around Mr Ames crowded with extended hands the very men who had joined in the vote of censure, asking his pardon for having done so, and seeking to palliate an act of gross injustice by urging the political necessity which forced them to it. “We know you are innocent,” they said; “but we had to do it, in order to satisfy our constituents.” Thus was a man whose name was a synonym for honesty and integrity made the scapegoat of a panic-stricken congress—a congress whose members were in the main self-seeking and even cowardly in their selfishness.

As to the resolution itself, it was on a par with the remainder of the proceedings. It was vague, insinuating, sinister, in some places meaningless, and in others wide of the mark. First of all, the only means of "procuring congressional attention to the affairs of the corporation" would be by introducing some measure before congress as a body, and not by dealing with individual members. Then, as we have seen, the interests of the corporation did not in any way "depend upon the legislation of congress." It was not until several years after the acts of 1862 and 1864 that Mr Ames became connected with the credit mobilier, and when he did so, no further legislation was asked or needed.

One of the most powerful and logical arguments ever written upon the subject of Oakes Ames and the credit mobilier was the address "to the American people, irrespective of party," issued on August 9, 1880, by Oakes A., Oliver, and Frank M. Ames, sons of the political martyr. The occasion was the revival of interest in the credit mobilier, growing out of an alleged complicity therein by James A. Garfield, then the republican candidate for the presidency. The sons of Oakes Ames appealed to the people and press of the United States for a reconsideration of the judgment passed upon their father, not in the interest of any individual or of any party, but in that of truth, equity, and common sense. A statement of the facts in this historical case was due alike, they thought, to a public benefactor whose last days were clouded with obloquy, to the great enterprise with which he was identified, to the good name of both political parties, some of whose trusted leaders had been assailed, and to the honor of the nation, which had been compromised by the opprobrium cast upon its representatives. This memorial fully reviewed the connection of Oakes Ames with the Union Pacific and the credit mobilier, and related the circumstances giving rise to the charges that he

had sold shares of stock in the construction company to members of congress with corrupt intent.

"So far as the charges against Oakes Ames are concerned," says the memorial, "the circumstances under which the sales of stock were made to congressmen by him preclude the possibility of a corrupt intent by either party; for they were made: 1. As a sale, and not as a gift. 2. At the same price (par and accrued interest) which it cost himself and all the original holders. 3. At a time when no legislation was wanted, and with an express assurance that none would be wanted. 4. To known and tried friends of the enterprise. 5. To men whose reputations were worth more than money. 6. In sums so small as to offer no temptation. Any one of these six facts is inconsistent with an intent of bribery, but, taken together, they constitute a perfect refutation. If Oakes Ames bribed any one, what was the bribe? For what was the bribe offered? What act of legislation in behalf of his road did he even seek to attain? If wrong were committed, who were the parties wronged? It is said that the credit mobilier and Oakes Ames contracts were frauds. If so, who were the parties defrauded? Not the government; for it gave only what it agreed to give, and received all for which it stipulated as an equivalent. Not the present stockholders of the Union Pacific railroad; for they own the railroad and the franchise, which is all their stock ever represented. Not the original stockholders of the Union Pacific; for they consented to the contract, and shared in the risk and profit of constructing the road. Not the public; for they enjoy all the great benefits of the great national highway. The committee of congress, which in 1872-3 was charged to investigate, found no member guilty of accepting a bribe. In their report the committee say they 'do not find' that any member was 'aware of any improper object of Mr Ames, or that he had any other purpose in taking this stock than to make

a profitable investment'; that 'in his negotiations with these members of congress, Mr Ames made no suggestion that he desired to secure their favorable influence in congress in favor of the railroad company'; that 'the question was raised, at the time, whether the ownership of this stock would in any way interfere with or embarrass them in this action as members of congress,' and that Mr Ames assured them that it would not, because 'the Union Pacific railroad had received from congress all the grants and legislation it wanted, and should ask for nothing more.' The committee add that when Mr Ames said so, 'he stated what he believed to be true,' and that they have not been able to find that any of these members of congress have been affected in their official action in consequence of their interest in credit mobilier stock.

"Notwithstanding these findings of facts, that nobody had accepted a bribe; that Mr Ames had not offered nor suggested a bribe; that he had charged his colleagues in congress what he had paid himself for the stock; that no one had been wronged; and that there was no criminal—the committee reported that Oakes Ames was guilty of bribery. He was sacrificed to satisfy political prejudices. Have the detractors of Oakes Ames ever asked themselves what motive, except public spirit, could have led a man so situated to contract to build the road? His own personal interest in the construction company in December 1867 was only one eighth of the whole. By signing the contract he made the entire risk his own. But in case of profit, seven eighths of the profit would belong to others. Why, except from public spirit, should a man worth millions, and secure in the possession of them, have risked all by becoming personally responsible, as he did, for the vast sum of \$47,000,000? Why else should he have undertaken to find a market for the securities of the road, and to convert them into money, with which to meet these

immense obligations? Why else should he have given the best years of his life to these colossal cares and responsibilities? For the prosperity of his country, he risked his own fortune and that of his family, and up to this hour his return has been, in too many quarters, unmeasured reproach and odium." "To-day," concludes this vindication of the father by the sons, "there live thousands of men in New England, thousands more in the middle states and the great west, who have had business relations with him, who know what we say is true, and will testify of their own knowledge that Oakes Ames was an honest man."

And here we will take our leave of the matter, and willingly so; for never perhaps in the history of the world has been witnessed such legislative unreason, such legislative stultification. This only I will remark, that, but for the testimony of Oakes Ames himself, the real truth would never have been known. For a time indeed, not being under oath, he hesitated to divulge the entire truth, hoping to screen the witnesses from the effects of their own falsehood or prevarication, and screen them he did, so far as was consistent with his duty to his country and to himself. But when he saw that he was being defied, he withheld no longer that which he would willingly have concealed, and exposed the entire matter to its innermost details. It was simply because he told the truth, and the whole truth, that he received the censure of congress, the censure of those who belied and slandered him, that while his evidence was believed, it was none the less used against him, even unto his own condemnation.

And now from the scene of his political triumphs and his political wrongs Mr Ames retired, never again to return. By no right-thinking man, whether in or out of congress, was he held in less esteem than before; but rather was lustre added to his reputation for his manly, undaunted attitude under the ordeal of persecution. In all this mournful episode in the nation's

history, there is but one redeeming feature, and that is, the strict devotion to truth that has forever placed the name of Oakes Ames beyond the reach of calumny and slander. If it was he who was censured, it was his detractors who were condemned; if it was he who for the moment was chosen as a victim, it was they to whom the final verdict of mankind has brought home the charge of cowardice and falsehood.

In the following resolution, unanimously adopted in 1883 by both houses of the Massachusetts legislature, was a fair expression of the popular sentiment, after malice and prejudice had lost their influence, and the dust of controversy had cleared away:

“Resolved, in view of the great services of Oakes Ames, representative from the Massachusetts second congressional district for ten years ending March 4, 1873, in achieving the construction of the Union Pacific railroad, the most vital contribution to the integrity and growth of the national union since the war;

“In view of his unflinching truthfulness and honesty, which refused to suppress, in his own or any other interest, any fact, and so made him the victim of an intense and misdirected public excitement, and subjected him to a vote of censure by the forty-second congress at the close of its session;

“And in view of the later deliberate public sentiment, which, upon a review of all the facts, holds him in an esteem irreconcilable with his condemnation, and which, throughout the whole country, recognizes the value and patriotism of his achievement and his innocence of corrupt motive or conduct—

“Therefore, the legislature of Massachusetts hereby expresses its gratitude for his work and its faith in his integrity of purpose and character, and asks for like recognition thereof on the part of the national congress.”

On returning to his eastern home, Mr Ames was received with a welcome so hearty and sincere that it

went far to heal the wounds inflicted by a nation's ingratitude. It was intended that the reception should be local, restricted at least to his neighbors and fellow-townsmen; but this could not be permitted, and from his entire district the citizens assembled to do honor to their former representative. The exercises consisted only of a public reception and a few appropriate speeches, of which the most appropriate was delivered by Mr Ames himself. In his brief response to those who had preceded him, he gave in his own direct, straightforward way perhaps the most succinct description that has ever been published of the credit mobilier investigation.

"I have, as you are aware," he said, "been the principal subject of abuse for the past six months. The press of the country has been full of what is called the credit mobilier scandal. The whole offence, if offence it can be called, consists of the sale of \$16,000 worth of stock to eleven members of congress, at the same price I paid for it myself, and at the same price I sold the stock to others; and if the parties purchasing the stock had simply told the truth, and said they had a right to purchase it, that would have been the end of it. But from the fact of their denial the public suspected there must be something criminal in the transaction, and to find out what the crime was, congress appointed a committee to inquire if Oakes Ames had bribed any member of congress. The result was the appointment of the notorious Poland committee. That committee was engaged nearly three months, and the result of all its labors was to badly damage the character of some men high in office for truth and veracity. The object of the committee, to see if Oakes Ames bribed any member, was admitted not proven; but the committee made the wonderful discovery that I was guilty of selling stock for less than it was worth, but that the parties taking the stock and keeping it were innocent; and that I had the extraordinary ability to give men a bribe without

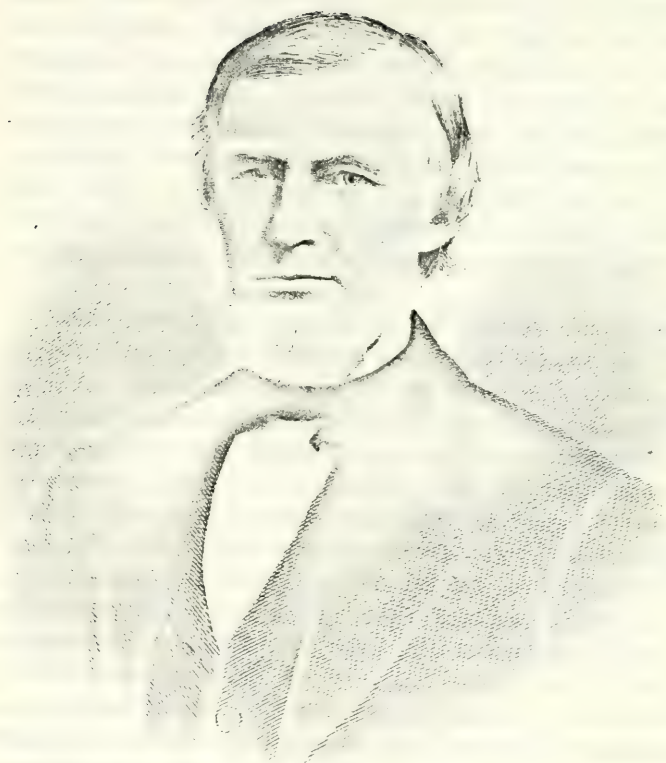
their knowing it, and to do they did not know what. That is the sum and substance of the credit mobilier matter, which has kept the country in a state of excitement for the past six months."

A few weeks after the adjournment of congress the leading merchants of Boston were preparing to give a complimentary dinner, at which some public expression might be made, not only of their unshaken confidence in Mr Ames, but of their admiration of the great achievement with which his name will ever be associated. But now the end was near. To the strain which had been caused by building a highway across the continent, by sustaining it with all the force of his energy, with all his personal means and personal credit, by assuming this awful load of care and debt in a period of financial distrust and panic, were added the effects of his hopeless struggle with the members of a venal and biased legislature. And from this faulty and erring tribunal an appeal was about to be taken to him who searches all hearts, and to whom the weakness of human judgment is unknown. On the 5th of May, 1873, while suffering from an attack of pneumonia, he was stricken with paralysis. Three days later he quietly passed away from the scene of his labors and his sufferings, dying, as he had wished to die, surrounded by his family, and in an atmosphere of sympathy and restfulness that was to him a foretaste of that peaceful home where treachery, falsehood, and ingratitude may enter not.

And now at last he was appreciated—now, when the tidings of his sudden death were borne on lightning wings to every quarter of the union. Now were his eminent qualities conceded, his eminent services confessed, and everywhere were heard expressions of regret at what men felt to be a national loss, a national calamity. At the touch of death, the strife of party was hushed, the voice of calumny was silenced, and even the press, which had so long assailed him with its foul and malodorous vituperation, ceased from its accustomed strain.

In the consecrated ground, where for generations his ancestors had slept, the remains of Oakes Ames were laid at rest, in the presence of a vast assemblage of mourners, among them the leading citizens of Massachusetts, and men distinguished in every sphere of life. The exercises were of the simplest, as befitted the character of him who was about to be committed to the dust; but the scene was one which could not fail to impress beholders with the silent power of his name. "He was true to the great questions of the time," remarked the officiating clergyman, "and was through life a loyal advocate and adherent of the cause of freedom. With ample means for luxury, preserving a puritan simplicity in his home and habit of life, and by precept as by example leading the way from the extravagances of the hour that tempt so many beyond their means, and preserving the republican and majestic simplicity of the older generations, he met men on the level of simple manhood, never cowering to the lofty, and never despising the lowly. With no aristocratic ways of speech or manner that repelled the common man, but meeting all men with a simple justice, taking them as they were, his distinguishing characteristic was his massive mould and stature, that made him a mighty worker in the world's affairs."

In truth he was a great man, a man of true New England mould, one of the noblest, as he was one of the last, representatives of the sturdy puritan race. Judged by the largeness of his purpose and the greatness of his works, there are few whose career stands out in more majestic proportions, for his was a career entirely unselfish and self-devoted, busy, active, and filled to the last with thoughtful care for others. A man of deeds, and not of words, he was essentially one of the people, one with the people, treating all men as his equals, accessible to all, and judging all men on their merits, without regard to rank or station. Tolerant of hostility, he was ever ready to forgive an injury, and in his friendships he was firm and persist-



Oliver Ames

ent, regarding them almost in the nature of a religion. In the depths of his rugged, self-contained, and undemonstrative nature lay the heart of a child, a depth and tenderness of feeling that few suspected save those who knew him. Plain and frank in speech and address, and as fearless as frank, he seldom stopped to consider his words, speaking from the heart rather than from the head, but always in apt and expressive phrase. Ambitious, but with a worthy ambition, he cheerfully assumed his self-imposed burden, and in the service of his country, on the broad foundation of his country's gratitude and his country's esteem, he has reared the superstructure of his fame.

And now from the career of Oakes Ames let us turn to that of his brother Oliver, to whom, as I have said, no less than to his more famous kinsman, was due the success of the greatest financial and engineering feat that the present century has witnessed. As president of the Union Pacific, and holding that office during the most critical period of its history, when at times its very existence was threatened, his soundness of judgment, administrative talent, and strictly conservative policy were of priceless service in carrying the enterprise through its grave and manifold difficulties. Before relating the story of his life, I will give here an extract from the resolutions passed by the board of directors, when all too soon Mr Ames was summoned from the scene of his earthly labors.

"He came into this board at a period when high character, financial ability, and extended reputation were indispensable to the company's success. His experience in great enterprises was then a matter within the public knowledge. From 1866 to 1877 he remained a director, and was president from 1866 to 1871. Throughout this long service, his name has been like a tower of refuge and strength. His faith in the capacity and future of our road, early formed, was unflinching. In periods of financial peril, his

means and credit were most generously placed at the disposal of our treasury. His daily presence and timely word of counsel have contributed very largely to the good reputation which the company has attained. With his official intercourse with members of this board have been united acts of personal friendship which will cause us to hold him ever in affectionate remembrance.

"And to his ability, culture, wealth, station, and dignified but unostentatious manners were added the kind heart and the open hand of a Christian gentleman."

In an age when honor and integrity are as rare in business as in political circles, when bribery, defalcation, and embezzlement bring with them no more disgrace than did theft among the Spartans, except, as with them, the disgrace of detection, it is indeed refreshing to turn to a career so entirely void of offense as that of Oliver Ames. At the head of some of the most powerful corporations in the world, with power for good or evil such as is seldom wielded even by the great ones of the earth, his reputation was unsullied by the faintest breath of calumny, his life unspotted in its purity, his memory endeared to all as that of one to whom a good name was rather to be chosen than riches.

To the ancestry and parentage of Mr Ames it is unnecessary here to refer; for they have already been related in connection with the biography of him to whom has been fittingly applied the title of 'political martyr.' Plymouth, Massachusetts, was his birthplace, and the day the 5th of November, 1807. The third, in order of birth, among the sons of Oliver and Susannah Ames, he was thus about three years younger than his brother Oakes, the eldest of their eight children. At the age of six he removed with the family to Easton, where for several years, during the brief winter session, he attended school, and when not at school his time was passed, with perhaps more

benefit to himself, in his father's factory. Soon he became an expert and thorough workman, with a perfect knowledge of all the branches of his craft, and what was more, with the faculty of making improvements, where such were possible; for not least among his gifts was the gift of mechanical invention.

At the Easton shovel-works he remained, until, a few months before reaching his majority, he met with an accident, which for a time disabled him from manual occupation. He then decided to enter the academy at North Andover, where for two years he studied, gaining by his aptitude and diligence, his modest simplicity and kindness of nature, the esteem of his fellow-students, no less than of his fellow-workmen. The taste thus acquired for intellectual pursuits he retained throughout his lifetime, never allowing the cares of business to absorb his time and thoughts; to the exclusion of nobler and loftier aims. At this early age, moreover, he had given earnest of the powers which he afterward displayed as an orator, and in the debating society of this New England village there was no more fluent or impressive speaker, none who could discourse in more humorous vein, or with a keener appreciation of a joke. And yet he was one whose native dignity could never tolerate that which savored, however slightly, of flippancy or vulgarity; nor in his presence would any dare to assume, in deed or speech, the liberty that verges upon license.

His term at the academy completed, Mr Ames began to prepare for what was then his chosen profession, of the law, entering the office of William Baylies, of West Bridgewater. But soon his health began to suffer from the effects of a sedentary life; and meanwhile his father's business had so largely increased that in 1844 he was offered and accepted a partnership in the firm, which was thenceforth known as Oliver Ames and Sons. To the executive ability of Oliver Ames, to his faculty of controlling large and

varied interests, was due in no small measure the success of these world-famous iron-works, and never afterward did he sever his connection with them, even when president of the Union Pacific, and director in a dozen railroad and other corporations.

It was early in 1854 that Oliver and his brother Oakes first gave their attention to railway building, petitioning the Massachusetts legislature, in conjunction with Howard Lothrop and other associates, for leave to incorporate a company to be known as the Easton Branch Railroad company. The petition was granted, and received the governor's approval; work was at once commenced, and in less than a year completed, and on the 16th of May, 1855, the first passenger train from Boston drew up at the North Easton station. With several local lines Oliver Ames was afterward connected, among them the Old Colony and Newport railroad, of which he was one of the original promoters, and for many years a director.

But it is in connection with the Union Pacific that his name will ever be remembered as among the greatest of railroad financiers. While yet the enterprise was struggling for its very existence, there were none so active as he in making known its merits to the public and to capitalists, while during its later progress, his experience and ability for controlling large financial operations were of incalculable benefit. Originally one of the directors, and holding that position until the day of his death, in March 1868 he was chosen president, to which office he had been appointed pro tempore nearly two years before that date. It was with the utmost regret that in 1871 the stockholders heard of his refusal to accept a reelection, for by all it was admitted that in shaping and formulating the company's policy, and that at a most critical period of its history, his services were such as none but he could render. His work, indeed, like that of his brother, forms a part of the nation's history; for

only by such men could the vast region west of the Missouri have been made tributary to the peaceful conquests of civilization; only by such means could farms and factories have been opened, and prosperous communities established, where before was wilderness primeval. Though to Oakes Ames is due the credit of coming to the rescue of the Union Pacific in the hour of its sorest need, it was largely through Oliver's aid that his plans were carried to fruition, and the mantle of honor should fall equally on both. While the former opened the way, the judgment and administrative talent of the latter removed obstructions and made progress possible. Wherein the one was weak, the other was strong; and seldom has been witnessed a similar combination of two sympathetic and master minds intent on the execution of a grand achievement, one undertaken with no selfish aims, but for the welfare of a nation, and indeed of all the nations of earth.

To other positions of trust and responsibility Oliver Ames was elected; for his very name was a tower of strength, and everywhere his coöperation was eagerly sought. While a director in the Union Pacific, he held the same office in the Atlantic and Pacific, the Kansas Pacific, the Denver Pacific, the Colorado Central, and other railroads. Among the corporations of which he was president was the First National bank of Easton, the Ames plow company, and the Kinsley iron and machine company. He was a trustee and one of the original incorporators of the North Easton savings bank, and was connected with the Bristol County national banks, and with many similar institutions. He was also closely identified with historical, agricultural, and other societies, and especially with such as had for their object education, philanthropy, and reform. In a word, he was a public-spirited man, one foremost in all enterprises that tended to the common good.

Especially was his influence felt in connection with

the cause of temperance, a cause to which, from early manhood, he gave the benefit of his precept and example. His father was also a total abstainer, and did much to prevent the spread of the drinking habit among the community. As an inducement to his employés, the latter added to their wages the value of the liquor then usually supplied to farm hands, but on the understanding that, while in his employ, they should refrain from all intoxicating beverages. To this compact they consented, and what is more, lived up to it. It was about the year 1825 when the first temperance gathering was held at North Easton. It was largely attended, and that by an audience among whom not a few had themselves been afflicted with the curse which follows those who tarry over the cup. After an address from one of the ablest lecturers of the day, at the close of the meeting, the pledge was presented for signature; and if we can believe the local historian of Easton, the first one to sign it was Oliver Ames. In such an example as this, wherein the influence is persuasive rather than arbitrary, the results for good are incalculable—far superior to any coercive policy backed by questionable legislation, and which so seldom accomplish the desired ends.

In politics Mr Ames was originally a whig, and on the dissolution of that party joined the ranks of the republicans, of whose measures and principles he was ever afterward a firm supporter. In the political affairs of North Easton, he took a prominent part during the memorable campaign of 1844, following the banner of Old Harry of the West, when Clay was a candidate for presidential honors. It was indeed an exciting year, and nowhere more so than in Massachusetts, where was one of the strongholds of the whigs, and where the great orator numbered his supporters by the thousand, the entire party working for him with true New England enthusiasm. Even the women took part in the contest, those of Taunton,

where a great convention was held in this year, promising a silken flag to the whigs of that town which should send to the convention the largest number of candidates, in proportion to their vote for governor in 1842. This banner, which is still to be seen in the Ames memorial hall, was won by the men of Easton, and at its presentation, Daniel Webster, who presided over the meeting, himself proposed the cheers which greeted their victory, Oliver Ames responding for his fellow-townsmen.

Twice Mr Ames was elected to the Massachusetts senate, first by the legislature of that state in 1852, and again in 1857 by the vote of the people, who had long since recognized his fitness to represent them in the councils of the commonwealth. As a member of several important committees he rendered excellent service, and on the issues of the day there was no more effective speaker. While not what men term a politician, and certainly not a seeker of office, he never refused to take his share in the political burdens of the time, a time fraught with danger to the very existence of the republic. In more than one campaign he delivered such powerful addresses on the topics of the hour as served to direct public opinion in the right direction. When the storm of civil war raged throughout the land, he was among the first to offer financial aid, then sorely needed, to the union cause. As one of a committee appointed by the citizens of Easton, he also disbursed to the families of those who had gone to the front the funds required for their support.

During all the long years of the war, the people of this New England village did not allow their enthusiasm to abate, adopting such measures as would best promote enlistment for the union ranks. In July 1862, it was voted to pay to each volunteer who should enlist for three years' service, and be credited to the quota of the town, one hundred dollars, in addition to the pay and bounty of the government. As

one of a committee appointed for the purpose, Mr Ames drew up a series of resolutions expressing the devotion of the community to the federal cause. Of these resolutions, which were adopted at a meeting of the townspeople, amid rounds of cheers and other evidences of approval, the following is a copy:

“Resolved, that the brilliant success that has attended our efforts in crushing this wicked rebellion inspire our hearts with gratitude, and nerve our hands to strike heavier blows for the triumph of freedom.

“Resolved, that we heartily respond to the call of the president for volunteers, believing that an overwhelming force now put into the field will make short work with the rebellion, cover our army with glory, and make our glorious republic the strongest as well as the fittest government of the world.

“Resolved, that we, the inhabitants of Easton, deeply sensible of the importance of a speedy compliance with the president's late call, although we have already made heavy contributions to the army, yet we will spare no efforts to place our quota promptly in the field.

“Resolved, that the preservation of the union and the constitution, and the crisis of the hour, call upon us to sacrifice with an untiring heart our lives and our fortunes upon the altar of our country.”

While thus so largely occupied with the affairs of business and of the nation, Mr Ames found ample time for the indulgence of his literary tastes, for social intercourse, and the enjoyments of domestic life. Simple in manners as in habits, and with a dignity and refinement that stamped him as one of nature's noblemen, in his treatment of others he was cordial and sincere, without apparent consciousness of his high position, and without the slightest trace of affectation. A philanthropist in the truest sense of the word, though not an indiscriminate giver, his purse was open for every worthy object, and though the extent of his benefactions will never be disclosed, those which

are known were wisely bestowed, and such as would confer on their recipients a solid and lasting benefit. Among them were donations to schools and libraries, to churches, parsonages, and cemeteries.

To the North Easton unitarian society, of which he was a member, he presented the Unity church, built at his own expense, under his own superintendence, and dedicated in August 1875, some two months before his death. This edifice, which is gothic in design and cruciform in shape, is situated on a gentle slope, a little to the north of the Ames residence. The walls are of sienite, of a pinkish hue, and the spire, which is surmounted by a large stone cross, of blue sienite, all of it obtained from a local quarry. The interior is tastefully finished in black walnut, and the Sunday-school room in cherry. Under the auditorium is the church parlor, with several rooms adapted for social purposes.

In the eastern transept is the Oakes Ames memorial window, designed by John A. Mitchell, the architect of the church. It is in three vertical sections, the central one representing the archangel Michael at the moment of his victory over Satan. On the side sections, geometrical figures are inscribed, producing an excellent effect, both as to form and coloring. In the western transept, a window in memory of Helen Angier, the late and only daughter of Oliver Ames, represents the angel of help ministering with one hand to a sitting figure personating want, and with the other to a bowed and stricken woman, the impersonation of sorrow. Above them cherubim point to a beautiful urn, on which are the words *In Memoriam*. The design is by Lafarge, and by connoisseurs is considered his masterpiece, one that, except in the old world cathedrals, has never perhaps been excelled. Near by is a large white tablet bearing the name of Oliver Ames the elder, founder of the society, and placed there by his son, in memory of whom is a marble bust, with a tablet of

Mexican onyx appropriately inscribed, a family tribute bestowed a few months after his decease.

At its annual meeting in January 1876, Mr Ames presented the church to the society for which it was intended. It was in truth a princely gift, less for its value—not far from \$100,000—than for the spirit in which it was given. To superintend its building was almost the final task of his life; or rather, it was not a task, but a labor of love, in which his soul found deep content. Said he who, some two years later, was called on to deliver his funeral oration: “Concerning this son and brother, whose dear and honored presence we shall no more have visibly with us, one thought is in all our minds. It is, that this whole building of God, which was the pride and joy of his heart, will be his perpetual memorial. He has so identified himself with it, he is so associated with it, that it will always be suggestive of him. And if the dear ones who pass out of our sight, but do not perhaps go far away, are permitted to look down upon us and be with us here, then, next to the home of his love, this will be the place where his presence will be; and in the blessing we all receive here, he will find a joyous satisfaction.”

While a firm believer in the doctrines of the Unitarian church, Mr Ames was in no sense of the word a sectarian, taking as his motto the two great commandments in which he who taught of God summed up the teachings of the law and the prophets. His trust in an all-wise providence was as unwavering as his faith in immortality, and in his favorite hymn, commencing

“One sweetly solemn thought,”

was expressed his own readiness to lay down the burdens of life in the sure and steadfast hope of a better life to come.

All too soon for those who knew and loved him he passed through the gates of death. In 1874, on account of failing health, he withdrew, as far as was

possible, from the cares of business life, devoting his attention mainly to the building of Unity church. For a time his health improved, and his friends began to hope that he might still be spared to them for many years; but this was not to be. On Friday, the 2d of March, 1877, he was seized with pneumonia, from which his system, enfeebled with the strain of overwork, had not the strength to rally. One week later he breathed his last, passing away quietly and almost painlessly to the rest that was to be the reward of a useful and well-ordered career. His last hours were marked by the calm resignation which arises from a blameless life, and a deep and abiding faith in the mercy of the Almighty. In his inmost heart the dying man was conscious that, so far as in him lay, he had done his duty, and with steadfast hope awaited his summons before the great tribunal from which there is no appeal. Thus with the prophetic vision of those who have entered the valley of the shadow of death, when lying at the very threshold of eternity, he looked through the dread mysterious portals to the glory that lay beyond, and with his dying breath exclaimed: It is well.

Never perhaps did sorrow more universal and profound befall the community of Easton than when it was heard that the well-known form of Oliver Ames would be seen no more among them. Not only was it felt that a public benefactor had passed away, but in each individual was a sense of personal bereavement. Said the pastor of Unity church: "It was indeed a touching tribute to the beauty and strength of his character, when the sons of toil from the streets and shops, who had looked up to him and listened to his voice, and had become familiar with his daily life, gathered in sorrow and solemnity to take a farewell look of those features which, though quiet in death, still wore the winning smile of life. His temperance, his virtue, his integrity, his beneficence, his intelligent and refined courtesy, all woven into the warp and

woof of life, gave a charm to his unassuming intercourse that made his burial-day a sad one to those whom he had employed, counselled, or aided in the struggles of life."

The funeral services were celebrated at North Easton on the Monday after his decease. It was a sad and gloomy day, and the sky was overcast, as if nature herself had put on her robes of mourning. Work was suspended; schools were closed; and from all portions of the state, from all portions indeed of the New England states, men gathered to pay their parting tribute to the dead. Among them were several of the directors and leading officials of the Union Pacific railroad; from Boston, from Taunton, from New Bedford came hundreds of their most prominent citizens, his personal friends; and few there were who knew him that failed to betoken by their presence the respect which they felt for him on whose face they would look no more.

Soon after the hour of noon private services were held at the family residence, and then the remains were carried to Unity church. The pall-bearers were chosen from the oldest employes of the firm, from those who had been in their service from a quarter to half a century, the procession slowly following the casket on foot; and as it passed, the road was lined with the citizens of Easton, standing in mute and heart-felt sympathy, with downcast and uncovered head. An incident here occurred which was no less striking than beautiful, and which will ever be remembered by those who took part in this mournful pageant. At the very moment when the hearse was crossing the threshold of the church which Oliver Ames had erected for service of his God, the beams of the westering sun pierced through the leaden canopy which hung like a funeral pall over the sanctuary, and like a ray shot from the throne of the Redeemer, shed forth their warm and radiant light, as though in benediction on the living and the dead.

The decorations were of the simplest, as befitted the character of him whose remains were now to be laid at rest. The church was tastefully adorned with flowers; in front of the pulpit were massed the floral tributes of relatives and friends; but that which touched the hearts of all beholders was the vacant pew of Mr Ames, over the arm of which hung a single wreath of lilies.

The procession passed up the aisle to the low, soft notes of the funeral dirge, and the services began with the favorite hymn of the deceased, who at length had laid his heavy burden down,

"Leaving his cross of heavy grief,
Wearing his starry crown."

Selections from scripture were read by the Rev. R. R. Shippen, among which the following was one of the most appropriate: "Blessed are they that do his commandments, that they may have right to the tree of life, and may enter in through the gates into the city." By the pastor, the Reverend W. L. Chaffin, an address was delivered reviewing the life of the man and its effect on the community and on the country. It was free from extravagant eulogy, and couched in such apt and simple phrase as bore with it the conviction of honest belief. He appealed to his hearers to consider the essential feature of death rather the ascent of the spirit to heaven, than the descent of the body into the grave; not as destruction and loss, but a new life and nobler gain. "Looking thus," he remarked, "upon the higher side, as God and angels do, we shall see that the death of the good man is not darkness and defeat, but light and victory and enduring joy." During his discourse he referred to the public and private career of Mr Ames, to his character, and to the impression which he had left upon the community; for it is in that impression that men's virtues and failings are most strongly outlined.

"With all his manly strength and vigor," he con-

tinued, "there was also a refinement and courtesy which made him deserve the name of a Christian gentleman—a courtesy which was manifested not only to those who were on the same plane of social life and wealth with him, but which treated all with respect and politeness. He had a kindness of disposition that more and more opened his heart in generous service to his neighbors and his fellow-men; so that it is safe to say that no appeal for aid was ever made to him, for an object in which he could have confidence, without its securing his generous support. In these later years, with the shadow of death, or rather let me say the light of immortality, coming more consciously near to him, there was, as we have all noticed, a refining grace and sweetness of disposition, as though he were already taking on the lineaments of the heavenly life.

"To his conspicuous philanthropy was added an unobtrusive, but none the less genuine, piety; not the piety of mere sentiment, but which, growing from his unblemished integrity, was manifest in a universal belief and trust in the eternal goodness that guides the world in blessing. It was manifest by his strong belief in the immortal life; a belief that passed into an entire faith, which grew stronger and brighter with his declining years; a faith which, with the loss of health, became hope and glad anticipation. For he was one of the few persons who have embodied as part of their feeling, of their daily experience, the sentiment of the beautiful hymn that has been sung here to-day—a hymn which expresses not only the blessed faith of immortality, but readiness to lay down the burdens and ills of life; the sweet and solemn peace of a soul that seems already to look through the gates of death to the beauty and blessing that lie beyond."

After some pertinent remarks by Mr Shippen, the services closed with prayer, and the singing of the hymn commencing, Thy will be done. When an opportunity had been given to look once more on the

face of the dead, the casket was raised by the pall-bearers, and then in the village cemetery, near the spot where lay the ashes of his father, of his brother Oakes, and of other members of the family, was placed the remains of Oliver Ames, and there he sleeps his eternal sleep.

Many were the tributes of respect paid to the deceased by the societies and corporations with which he had been connected. Among them were the Old Colony Railroad company, the Union Pacific, the First National bank of North Easton, the Massachusetts Total Abstinence society, and others both of a secular and religious character. The journals were filled with kindly notices, and men of national repute, men whose judgment of their fellow-man is worthy of acceptance, spoke of him in the highest terms as one whose loss was in truth a national calamity.

Probably one of the most remarkable demonstrations was that of the citizens of Omaha, who met at the call of the mayor of that city to take appropriate action in regard to the sad event which had deprived them of one of their warmest friends. The mayor well expressed their feeling when, during his remarks on taking the chair, he said: "The people of the state whose enterprises he honored, the men of the nation whose welfare he promoted, are alike mourners over his departure. How natural, then, that we of the west, who have shared so liberally of his public spirit; that we of Omaha and Nebraska; that the people all along the vast region now traversed by the Union Pacific railroad, toward the successful and speedy construction of which he contributed so much of time, of money, of financial skill—should gather ourselves together as if by intuition to pay a sad yet cheerful tribute to that excellent worth which shone forth so preëminently and so constantly in the daily life of our departed friend. Rare, indeed, is it that goodness, greatness, and simplicity are so harmoniously blended

in the character of one man as they were in that of Oliver Ames." *

The meeting then adopted the following resolutions:

"Whereas, the citizens of Omaha have lately been informed of the sudden death of the honorable Oliver Ames, of North Easton, Massachusetts, on the 9th instant, and

"Whereas, by frequent intercourse with him during the last ten years as president and director, and one of the most influential promoters and owners, of the Union Pacific railroad, we have learned to appreciate and esteem his great capacity, his public spirit, his unspotted integrity, and his fidelity to all his engagements; and are desirous of giving public expression to our admiration of his character and our regret at his loss; therefore

"Resolved, that we have heard with deep sorrow of the death of Mr Ames; that in his demise the country has lost one of its most public-spirited and patriotic citizens, and this city and state a friend deeply interested in their prosperity, and ever ready to embark his wealth in every enterprise calculated to develop our resources and promote our prosperity.

"Resolved, that, believing, as he did, that the true interest of Omaha, Nebraska, and the entire trans-Missouri country was and must be coincident with the growth and development of the business and prosperity of that great national enterprise, the Union Pacific railroad, to which he had largely devoted the last twelve years of his life, and his great wealth; and that complete harmony and mutual support were the highest and best policy of each; that being thus led to sustain, encourage, and aid the most important local railroad enterprises undertaken west of the Missouri river; such, for example, as the Utah Southern, Utah Central, the Utah Northern, the Colorado Central, the Black Hills branch of the Union Pacific, the Omaha and Republican Valley, and others in contemplation, but not yet made public—he was entitled

to and should receive the gratitude of the people of this city, and all those localities whose welfare has been commensurate with the growth of the public enterprises in which he and his associates were embarked.

"Resolved, that in the death of Mr Ames, the officers and directors of the Union Pacific railroad company have lost an associate whose name was a tower of financial strength, whose counsels were ever prudent, wise, and conciliatory, who shrank from no responsibilities, and halted at no obstacles in the advancement and consummation of the public enterprises to which he devoted himself.

"Resolved, that the employés of the Union Pacific, in the death of Mr Ames, have lost one of their best friends; one whose early years had made him familiar with the life, the trials, and needs of the laboring classes, and who, ultimately achieving an immense and varied business and great wealth, never lost sympathy with working-men; but on the contrary was ever jealous of their rights, and solicitous of their welfare.

"Resolved, that the secretary be directed to forward a copy of these resolutions to the president of the Union Pacific railroad company, and to Frederick L. Ames, Esq., North Easton, Mass., and also furnish copies to the daily press of this city for publication."

After a study of the life work and the character of Oliver Ames, we might truly say :

"His life was gentle, and the elements
So mix'd in him, that Nature might stand up,
And say to all the world, 'This was a man!'"

From the private fortune of Mr Ames, which at the time of his death was very large, liberal bequests were made to philanthropic purposes, for public improvements, and for the cause of education and religion. Of some of them mention has already been made, and of others none is possible,

for not one in a hundred of his numberless benefactions was ever made known to the public. By his will the town of North Easton was endowed with a fund of \$50,000, in the shape of eight per cent bonds of the Union Pacific, the income of which was to be devoted to the support of schools. In order to guard against the town relying too much upon this fund, and thus reducing its appropriations, it was provided that the bequest be forfeited unless a sum be voted each year at least equal per scholar to the amount contributed in the year preceding in other portions of the state. The revenue provided by the fund is used for all regular school and educational purposes.

For the construction of a free library at Easton, for books and furniture, and for its support, the sum of \$50,000 was also appropriated, the permanent fund being afterward increased by the widow and heirs of the donor from \$15,000 to \$40,000. The building, which is of sienite, with sandstone trimmings, was opened in March 1883. The interior is elaborately finished, the waiting-room and reading-room in black walnut, and in the latter is a beautifully carved fireplace, with columns of red sandstone. In the centre of the arch which surmounts it is a beautiful medalion of Mr Ames. By the terms of the bequest the property was conveyed to a board of five trustees, appointed by the Unitarian society at North Easton. Their names are, Frederick L. Ames, William L. Chaffin, Lincoln S. Drake, Cyrus Lothrop, and George W. Kennedy.

A third sum of \$50,000 was bequeathed for the improvement of the roads in and around Easton, resulting in a change of appearance of the town and its suburbs very much for the better. To the Plymouth monument fund was donated in his lifetime \$35,000; and finally the cemetery where his remains were interred, and where his own was the first funeral service held, was purchased and laid out

at the expense of the family and under his direction. Some nine acres in extent, its walks and drives are tastefully arranged, and in the highest part of this city of the dead is the family plat, a tall pillar of granite marking the resting-place of Oakes Ames, his wife and son, and granite sarcophagi those of the first and second Oliver. For the care of the cemetery and its further improvement, he also bequeathed an ample fund.

Thus briefly I have sketched the career of one of New England's philanthropists; but still another phase in his career remains to be mentioned, and that is, his social and domestic life, his life as a husband, a father, and a friend, and above all, as a son. Said the Reverend L. H. Sheldon, in a discourse delivered at Unity church soon after his decease: "I can well remember the parents of the youth just ripening into manhood, and the reputation they bore in all parental and filial relations in that old homestead. There were hallowed associations and heavenly influences, that linked this manhood and boyhood, of which I have heard no public mention made. And yet those who knew as I knew that sainted mother in her own home, in her private and public Christian activities, in her steadfast zeal and prayerful interest in promoting the virtue, intelligence, and happiness of all whom her kind sympathy and influence could reach, whose deep solicitude and earnest effort for the young I often witnessed in my own father's house—could not but see that many of the graces of the mother had fallen upon the son, and her affectionate precepts and winning ways had somehow interwoven themselves into his very heart and life; so that one familiar with the life and character of the Christian mother could not enter the home of the son and enjoy the hospitalities and social delights there found, could not look upon the face, and listen to the conversation, and see the devotion of the husband and father, without thanking God that he had such an intelligent, culti-

vated, affectionate, yet firm and judicious, guide in his tender and plastic childhood. Those beautiful and ennobling traits of the mother developed into the adorning excellences which so distinguished the husband, father, and friend in the quiet of his own home, and in the refinement and social joys of his own household."

Far be it from my purpose to intrude on the sacred privacy of his family circle, even had it been my privilege to enter it; but by all to whom that privilege has been extended, it is agreed that he was a perfect exemplar of the domestic virtues, while to his associates he was endeared by his kindliness of heart, his modesty, simplicity, and cordiality. To all the members of his family their home was the happiest spot on earth, one filled with radiance and joy, and to relatives and friends it was no less attractive by reason of its refinement, its virtue, and its sympathy. In the New England village where much of his life was passed, he had not a single enemy; as a citizen, there were none more faithful to duty; as an employer, none more thoughtful and considerate. In a world full of strife and self-seeking, of envy and jealousy, his nature never became soured or cynical, and if at times his soul was chafed with the meanness and selfishness of his fellow-man, he would not else have been mortal. While associating with the most prominent men of his time, men of wealth and culture, of power and influence, his sympathies were ever extended to those of lowly condition, and especially to the poor and the afflicted. No one was more free from what may be termed the pride of station; in his intercourse with others, he treated all men as his equals, removing by his native simplicity of manner all feeling of diffidence and restraint. Only when he encountered the vicious and depraved were they made to feel their inferiority, to endure the weight of his rebuke.

In appearance Mr Ames was a man of striking presence, tall and commanding in stature, nearly six

feet in height, and of solid and muscular frame. In his younger days he had enjoyed the strength and elasticity of frame which comes from the best of physical training, and which exercises so marked an influence upon the whole future life. In his face, perhaps, the most striking expression was that of benevolence, though in the lower features were indicated the strength of will and purpose which made his name respected throughout the New England states.

For more than sixty years he had lived among the citizens of his adopted town, where all paid tribute to his worth; for more than thirty he had been the guiding spirit in some of the foremost enterprises of the age—enterprises wide-reaching in their influence, and of more than national repute. But not as a railroad artificer, as a banker, as a manufacturer, will Oliver Ames be held in affectionate remembrance by his fellow-man, though for the qualities which he displayed in the conduct of affairs the world will not deny him his meed of praise. Rather will he be known as one whose name was a synonym for honor and integrity, whose hands and heart were free from all taint of pollution, who shrank from everything that savored of meanness and dishonesty, whose motto in life was: He that walketh uprightly walketh surely; who having ever before him the mark of his high calling, brought home by precept and example the truth of that noblest of maxims: A good name is rather to be chosen than riches, and loving favor than silver and gold.

In June 1833, Mr Ames was married to Sarah, the daughter of Howard Lothrop, of Easton, and sister of George Lothrop, formerly United States minister to Russia. Of thoroughly domestic habits, and one much given to church and charitable work, there are none among New England matrons whose memory is more respected and esteemed. Of their two

children, Frederick Lothrop and Helen Angier, the latter died on the 13th of December, 1882.

A native of Easton, where he was born on the 8th of June, 1835, the education of Frederick Lothrop Ames was begun at Concord, Massachusetts, continued at Phillips Exeter academy, and completed at Harvard university, where he graduated in 1854, and of which within recent years he was elected a fellow and trustee. His tastes and training inclined toward a professional career, and he would probably have followed that of the law, but for his father's wish that, as an only son, he should succeed him in his business. He therefore entered the office of the North Easton works, beginning life, not as heir at law to a vast estate, but merely as a clerk, and winning every step of his promotion by his own ability and zeal. Promotion came rapidly, however; for not only did he receive from his father a thorough business training, but also inherited from that father his aptitude for business affairs. Within a few years he was placed in charge of the accountant's department, less for his skill and accuracy in handling figures than for that prime qualification in a business man, his perfect reliability. In 1863, on the death of Oliver Ames the elder, he was admitted to a partnership in the firm, which, in 1876, was reorganized under the style of the Oliver Ames and Sons Corporation.

But long before that date he had begun to attract the attention of the business world, not only as a member of the firm, but as one engaged on his own account in some of the most important enterprises of the day. Thus at the time when he succeeded to his father's estate, he had already amassed a goodly fortune of his own, for among all the shrewd merchants and manufacturers of New England he had few rivals, and was probably without a superior. Such, at least, is the reputation which he bore among his associates,



Fred. L. Ames

and it is by that reputation that a man should be judged, rather than by any standard of his own.

Early in his career, Mr Ames' attention was directed to railroad matters, as might be expected from one whose father and uncle were interested in some of the greatest railroad enterprises of the age. He invested largely in western roads, in the Union Pacific, the Chicago and Northwestern, the Missouri Pacific, the Texas Pacific, in all of which, as in many others that need not here be mentioned, he was appointed to the directorate. Soon he became no less widely known as a railroad operator and railroad director than he had been as a merchant and manufacturer. First of all, his advice was sought, and then his coöperation; for men were not slow to recognize the soundness of his judgment as to the value, resources, and possibilities of the railways and railway systems of the land. Everywhere his aid was in request, and the strength of his name can best be judged by the fact that in 1890 he was officially connected with more than sixty companies, while to the list others were constantly being added, and yet he has probably refused more appointments of this nature than he has accepted. Among those in which he is most deeply interested is the Old Colony Railroad company, of which he is vice-president, and in connection with it may be mentioned the Old Colony Steamship company, in which he is a director.

In financial no less than in railroad circles, Mr Ames is a prominent figure, and especially in the control of banking and other institutions where prudence, skill, and executive ability are necessary to success. A few of them only need here be mentioned, and that with mention of the briefest. In the First National bank of North Easton, of which his father was one of the original board of directors, and for more than ten years its president, he succeeded to the latter office on the decease of Oliver Ames, in March 1877. He was also one of the first vice-presidents, and

since January 1867 has been president of the North Easton savings bank, incorporated in 1864, on the petition of his father and two others. The latter association was organized mainly for the benefit of the working classes, to encourage among them habits of thrift and industry. But there is perhaps no similar institution in all the New England states that enjoys in greater measure the confidence of the entire community. That this confidence is not misplaced, there was sufficient evidence during the commercial panic of 1879, when the general distrust extended even to the soundest of financial establishments. But the run which was made on the North Easton, as on other savings banks, speedily came to an end, for without an hour's notice at least \$90,000 was paid over the counter, or nearly one third of what was then the sum total of its deposits. From a little over \$300,000, in 1879, these deposits had increased to more than \$800,000, in 1890, with the prospect of a steady and continuous growth, now that its able and conservative management are widely recognized. It is almost unnecessary to remark that no other reason could be assigned for the run than the proverbial timidity of the public on such occasions—a timidity that is exceeded only by their rashness when manipulators band to rob them of their hard-earned dollars in exchange for worthless stock certificates.

In the New England Trust company, in the Bay State and the American Loan and Trust companies, all of them of Boston, in the Mercantile Trust company of New York, and in the Western Union Telegraph company, he is also a director. Finally, he still retains his interest in the North Easton factory, where, under his father's guidance, he laid the foundation of his fortune and his fame.

Thus it will be seen that Mr Ames leads a busy life, and that he is also a thorough man of business. While to take a leading part in the management of all the railroad and other enterprises with which he

is connected would be a simple impossibility, assuredly he would not give to them the weight of his influence and name merely for the honor and emolument attached to such positions. And yet he not only finds time for the discharge of his manifold duties, but for the relaxations in which he takes most delight, for the society of his wife and family, for the society of his books, and at times of a chosen circle of friends; for the indulgence of his æsthetic tastes, his taste for works of art, for flowers, for bric-a-brac, and once a year, when leisure permits, for a few weeks' travel in Europe. In these, however, business is intermingled with pleasure; for in many of the old world centres of commerce he has large and varied interests.

In his business characteristics, but in that respect only, he resembles somewhat the elder Vanderbilt, and especially in his clear and comprehensive grasp of complex and many-sided questions. His office hours are passed for the most part in giving audience to those who wish to consult him, whether as to his own or others' projects. In discussing a subject he comes to a conclusion, and I need not say to the right conclusion, almost by intuition, going straight to the heart of a question in the briefest possible phrase and the briefest possible time. He is never unduly elated by success, and never unduly depressed by failure, always retaining his equanimity amid the severest friction of business affairs and business reverses. On the loss of millions he would look as calmly as did Marlborough on the havoc in his ranks at Fontenoy, or Wellington when, on the plateau of Mont St Jean, his battalions melted into companies before the onslaughts of the great Napoleon. By some he has been stamped as a cold man, one cold in heart and manner; but among those who know him best, and best appreciate him, this defect is more seeming than real. Rather should we say that he is a self-contained man, one who wears not his heart on his sleeve, who has perfect control over himself, who

while in charge of enormous interests, of property whose value is liable to frequent and severe fluctuations, was never known to betray the faintest symptom of excitement. His qualities are essentially such, though not only such, as would have made of him an excellent lawyer; but while losing an able lawyer, the commonwealth has gained a no less able financier, manufacturer, and railroad magnate.

In politics Mr Ames was originally a whig, as were his father and his forefathers, later joining the republican party, but whether as whig or republican, entirely free from all political aspirations. One year, indeed, and that sorely against his will, he served in the Massachusetts senate, the nomination being made in his absence and without his knowledge, when, as he relates, he had no more idea of being chosen to the legislature than he had of being chosen to the presidency. At first it was his intention to refuse, and he accepted only because in Massachusetts, and especially in his own district, a nomination was considered as equivalent to election. In committee work, which is the true work of a legislature, whether state or national, he rendered most valuable service, and especially in the committees on manufactures and agriculture, though thankful withal to withdraw, at the end of his term, from a career for which he had neither leisure nor inclination.

In religion he is a Unitarian, taking an active part in the affairs of his church at North Easton, and of the First Unitarian church at Boston. With all his business cares, with all the ceaseless demands upon his purse, his money, and the time which to him is more than money, are ever at the disposal of charitable and benevolent associations. Especially should his services be mentioned in connection with the Boston Home for incurables, of which he is president, the Children's hospital in Boston, the Massachusetts general hospital, and the McLean insane asylum, of all of which he is a trustee. In the kindergarten for

the blind he also takes a kindly interest, and to each of these institutions devotes no small portion of his leisure hours. The extent of his public and private donations, not only for charitable but for religious, educational, and scientific purposes, it is probable that no one can tell, and least of all himself. Suffice it to say that they are generous, and as frequent as generous, the only condition being that they should never be published to the world; for publicity, in whatever shape, his inmost soul abhors. Such, it would appear, are not the characteristics of a cold-hearted man.

Following his father's example, Mr Ames has done his best to increase the beauty of his native town. Among his gifts is the North Easton station on the Old Colony railroad, one of the neatest and most tasteful structures of the kind in Massachusetts, and appreciated by the community as an ornament no less than a source of personal comfort. The building, which is of granite and brown sandstone, contains spacious and well-appointed waiting-rooms, is surrounded by trim and well-kept grounds, and is one of the few in the United States where the comfort of passengers is consulted.

On the 7th of June, 1860, Mr Ames was married to Rebecca, the daughter of James Blair, of St Louis, a refined and accomplished lady of Virginia extraction, but whose life, since the age of girlhood, has been passed, for the most part, in the northern states. With her natural endowments, enhanced by an excellent education, she has proved herself in all respects a most suitable and worthy consort, one worthy also of the social rank to which she is entitled no less by her own qualities than by her husband's position. By rich and poor alike, she is esteemed above all for her charities, not merely for the act of giving to any who are in need, but for searching out and inquiring into the necessities of those who are suffering from sickness or other forms of affliction, and then relieving

them liberally, but with discrimination. Of the six children born of this union, three sons and two daughters still survive, whose names, in the order of their birth, are Helen Angier, now the wife of Robert C. Hooper, of Boston; Oliver, recently married to Elise A. West; Mary Shreve Lothrop; and John Stanley. The second son was named after his ancestors on the maternal side, the Lothrop, who played so prominent a part in the history of Massachusetts. In accordance with the family custom, Oliver, the fourth of that name in lineal descent, entered the office of the North Easton factory, and will probably succeed his father in that and other branches of his business, for to business his tastes and abilities incline. His education, received at the Adams academy at Quincy, and at Harvard university, was supplemented by a trip around the world.

No wonder that in his home environment Mr Ames finds most delight, though less in his luxurious winter residence on Commonwealth avenue, Boston, than in his summer abode at North Easton. The latter is surrounded by one of the most sightly estates in New England, park-like in extent, with lawns of emerald hue, studded with groups of rare and beautiful trees, and stretching in graceful vistas to the forest growth beyond. Here the atmosphere is filled with the aroma of the choicest plants and flowers, and in the midst of the grounds, skirted by arbors and shaded walks, is a beautiful lake, bordered by gently sloping meadows. In horticulture Mr Ames is one of the most expert of connoisseurs, and few even among professional botanists are so well versed in the culture of rare and exotic plants. His collection of orchids is by far the best and largest in the United States, and is not excelled by any in Europe. Of each variety he knows the name and peculiarities, and perhaps of all recreations the one in which he takes most pleasure is in watching their growth and development. The greenhouse, well stocked with palms and ferns, with

orchids and foliage plants, in all the luxuriance of tropical vegetation, is open at certain hours to the public, and in nothing do the townspeople find so much delight as in displaying its beauties to visitors, many of whom come from afar with no other object in view. Not least among its attractions is the fernery, where blocks of porous limestone, brought from the state of New York, are covered with parasitic plants, with ferns and mosses, among which rise the stately palm and the Australian tree-fern.

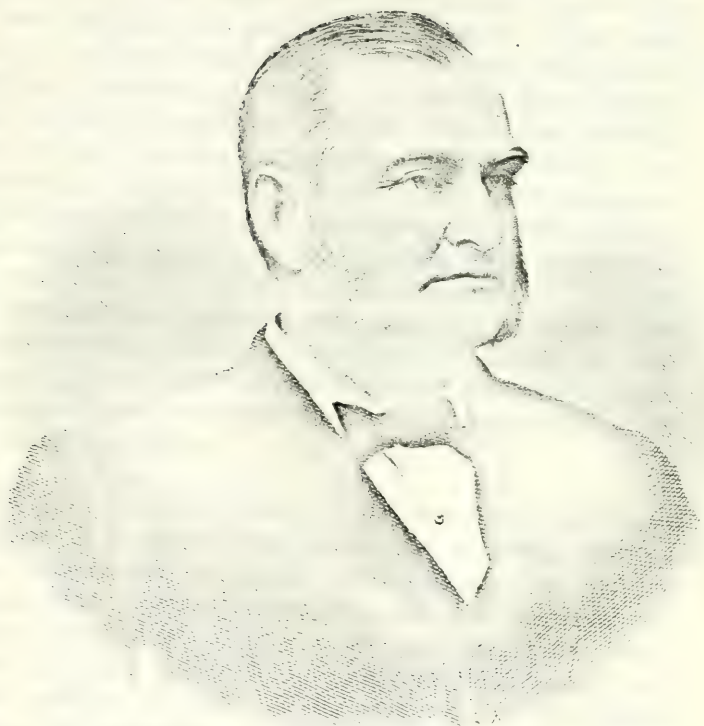
Still another object of interest is the gate-lodge at the northern entrance of the grounds, built of moss-covered stones of irregular shape, closely cemented together. Connected with it by a massive wall and arch of sandstone, the latter spanning the driveway, is a building used for the storage of plants in winter. On the left, near the western entrance, is the residence of Governor Oliver Ames, and a few hundred yards beyond, across the stone bridge that spans the lake, that of Frederick Lothrop Ames, one of the handsomest and most stately structures in all the Old Bay state. Here it may be mentioned that Frederick Ames is a large owner of real estate in Boston and in several western cities, the buildings that he has erected in the New England metropolis ranking among the finest in modern architecture.

While seldom frequenting social gatherings, preferring to all other social enjoyments the quiet enjoyments of home, Mr Ames is by no means averse to society, as is shown by his membership in some of the leading clubs of Boston and New York. Five evenings at least in the week will find him at his city or country residence, and, as a rule, with no other company than that of his family and his books. For literature he has a decided taste, and while his reading covers a wide range of subjects, he loves to travel off the beaten path, to study especially the abstruse and recondite in letters and in art. With a clear and active mind, and a goodly store of knowledge, he has

decided and original opinions on the current topics of the day.

For paintings his taste is no less cultivated, and the choice collections which adorn his summer and winter residences were for the most part chosen by himself. They consist largely of pictures of the modern French school, with here and there a work by one of the old masters. Among them are some of the finest productions of Millet and Rousseau, of Troyon and Dias, of Daubigny and Corot, all of them, or very nearly so, of his own selection. His store of bric-a-brac includes many rare and valuable specimens, among them some fine old tapestries and a choice collection of jade. In all these tastes Mr Ames indulges, and indulges freely, for he has the faculty of leaving in his office the cares of that office, never carrying them across the threshold of his home. Only by adhering strictly to this practice, by the absolute mental rest of his evening hours, is he enabled to undergo the severe and ceaseless tension of his business affairs.

To one who, without any knowledge of his antecedents, should be introduced to Mr Ames amid the retirement of his home, it would never occur that he was in the presence of a man reputed as among the greatest financiers and railroad magnates of the age. He would find in him rather the reserve and modesty of the scholar, the shyness of the scholar, or to use a more fitting phrase, the dislike which the scholar feels to any intrusion on his privacy. He would find a man perfectly self-contained and self-controlled, one whose intimacy could not be readily gained, and yet whose urbanity he could not for a moment call in question. His conversation would be of books, of pictures, of statuary, of horticulture, of anything rather than the vast and varied business interests in which he is engaged. Above all, he would find a man whose nature was singularly undemonstrative, and yet one whom none could accuse of any want of



Oliver Ames

courtesy or hospitality, one none could mistake for any other than a gentleman by birth and education.

In physique, Mr Ames is a man of good stature, and of strong and symmetrical build, wanting only an inch of six feet in height, and with an average weight of one hundred and seventy-five pounds. The head is large and well-shaped, with intellectual and clearly outlined features, expressive of strong individuality and of the strength of purpose which has enabled him to carry so many enterprises to a successful termination. In manner he is one of the most unassuming of men, with the ease and grace and yet with the quiet dignity of one who knows his own position in the world, and knowing it, will maintain it. A man of rare business aptitude, and one whose reputation has never been sullied by the faintest breath of just reproach, he is indeed a worthy representative of the race on whose time-honored name his own will shed an additional lustre.

Thus, in as brief space as was consistent with my purpose, I have related the career of three prominent members of a family world-famous for its influence, its worth, its wealth, and for the services which, generation after generation, they have rendered to their fellow-man. But without some further mention of Oliver, the second son of Oakes Ames, ex-governor of Massachusetts, and a man largely identified with the railroad interests of the west, this series of sketches would be incomplete.

Born at North Easton, on the 4th of February, 1831, Oliver received his early education at the schools of his native town and the academies of North Easton, North Attleborough, and Leicester. History was his favorite study, and especially the works of Rollin, Hume, Gibbon, and Josephus; in fiction the novels of Scott and Cooper were those which pleased him best. Completing his academic course, he entered his father's factory as an apprentice, learning the

business thoroughly in all its branches, throwing into it his heart and soul, and becoming identified with what he deemed the noblest calling in life. Thus he followed the custom of the family, for his father and grandfather had labored in the shops beside their mechanics, and by practical experience had not only learned every detail of the work, but also fully to appreciate the condition and needs of their employés. That the great firm has ever recognized the services of its workmen is shown by the fact that over half a century ago they were among the best paid and most contented in the country, while to-day no happier community can be found than that which is composed of the mechanics and their families at North Easton.

While gaining a complete mastery of his future business, Oliver was dissatisfied with his scholastic attainments, and longed for a thorough collegiate education. His father, however, did not believe in such training; for in his opinion the time that a business man spent in college could be better employed in mastering the details of his calling. It was not without an effort that the son overcame his father's prejudices; for when Oakes Ames once formed an opinion it required more than an expressed desire to gainsay it. He carefully considered Oliver's request to enter Brown university, but before granting it, consulted Dr Wayland, its president. The latter afterward remarked that Oakes Ames was one of the most remarkable men he had ever known.

At the university Oliver took a special course of instruction for one year, in logic, history, geology, rhetoric, moral philosophy, and political economy, under the immediate tutelage of Dr Wayland. He then returned to North Easton, where he again entered the shovel-works, and devoted all his energies to the interests of the firm, working for a time at his bench for mechanics' wages. He possessed the faculty for hard work, which is a distinguishing characteristic of the family, and by his close application and ability

as a craftsman, soon began to attract attention. The fact that he was the son of the proprietor had no effect upon his position in the shops, and none of the hundreds of men employed worked harder than he. His few leisure hours he devoted to study, and in factory and library carefully trained himself for his future career. His father and grandfather had won renown as manufacturers, and in this he took the greatest pride; but none the less he determined that he would not be behind them in making the name of Ames a household word wherever the husbandman turned the soil.

All the old employés at North Easton well remember Oliver as one of their fellow-toilers, and among them he bore an excellent reputation as a skilful and industrious workman. His hours at the shop were from seven in the morning until six at night, and so thoroughly did he become identified with the work that he disliked to leave it even for a single day. In the evening he repaired to the office, where his grandfather, his father, his uncle, his brothers, and his cousin, all of them interested in the business, met to discuss its affairs.

Having perfected himself as a mechanic, and obtained an insight into the management of the factory, he gave particular attention to the improvement of the machinery used in the manufacture of shovels. He invented many new machines, and increased the value of others by new devices; for he possessed in an eminent degree the inventive faculty, and what is more, the faculty of applying his inventions. Most of the medals subsequently received by the firm at fairs and exhibitions were awarded to articles made by his own hands. The father recognized the ability of the son, and as Oliver perfected himself in one branch of work transferred him to another. Thus the future governor became in course of time travelling agent for the house, and in that capacity journeyed through the greater portion of the union.

Upon the death of his grandfather, in 1863, he was admitted to the firm of Oliver Ames' Sons, the other members of which were his father and uncle, his elder brother, Oakes Angier, and his cousin, Frederick Lothrop Ames, the interest of the grandfather having been divided among the three grandsons. For several years thereafter he supervised the internal working of the factories and had charge of the orders and sales. For this position he was admirably fitted by his ability to understand, by his persistent application, and by his practical knowledge of all the details of the business. In advancing the interests of the firm no one of the partners was more energetic than he, and largely through his efforts its reputation was sustained and increased.

On the death of his father, in 1873, affairs of the greatest moment came under his management. With his brother Oakes A. he was appointed executor of his father's estate, valued at about \$6,000,000, but so encumbered with obligations, that to save it Oliver pledged his own fortune, and in other ways devised means of satisfying the immediate demands of the creditors. In the management of this property, and its rescue from an apparently hopeless condition, he displayed a capacity for finance which excited general admiration, and gained for him the esteem and confidence of the leading business men of the country. While he successfully settled in full every obligation, and satisfied every legacy and bequest which his father had willed or implied, these results were achieved only after years of energetic struggle against what at first seemed insurmountable difficulties.

The administration of his father's estate gave to Oliver an intimate knowledge of the various railroad, manufacturing, and other enterprises with which Oakes Ames had been connected. Many of the offices of trust and responsibility formerly held by the great railroad artificer were conferred upon his son,

who thus soon acquired almost as great and wide-reaching an influence as his father had exerted.

His first important success was achieved in developing the Central branch of the Union Pacific in Kansas, and this was a work in which he led and others followed. When first he took it in hand, the capital stock had not even a quotable value; its mortgage bonds, with coupons unpaid for five successive years, were selling at 30%, and holders considered themselves fortunate in obtaining even this proportion of the par value of their securities. The hundred miles of track in operation were barely paying running expenses, and the prospects were of the darkest. Oliver Ames made a thorough inspection of the road in 1877, and satisfied of the possibilities of its success, held many interviews with its managers, to whom he presented his ideas, and with them reviewed the plans and achievements of his father in relation to roads in a similar condition. His projects were adopted, and to show that he had faith in them, his subscription was among the largest recorded.

Most of the subscribers had been won by his representations; for men trusted in his ability and his integrity, and did not hesitate to risk their money upon the success of his plans. Like all strong men, he had confidence in himself, and this fact was convincingly demonstrated by his own investment. Exhaustive knowledge of all the elements of value in the undertaking, skilful management in their development, and fostering care of its interests in the period of growth, conducted the enterprise to ultimate success.

Once having entered upon the work, he prosecuted it with all the vigor for which his family is noted. The track was extended as rapidly as possible, until from being only one hundred miles in length it became three hundred and sixty. Branches were built, and business at once became encouraging, as the following statement of facts will illustrate. In 1876 and 1877 some of the shrewdest business men in New York

had been glad to sell their stock at \$12 per share; in 1880, within three years after Mr Ames had assumed the leadership in the affairs of the Central branch, the property became so valuable that Jay Gould purchased of Mr Ames, acting for himself and his associates, five eighths of the entire capital stock of the company, at \$250 per share. No wonder that the associates of Mr. Ames were jubilant at the success achieved by his projects and his management.

But not to the Union Pacific Central branch did he confine his efforts, becoming connected with a number of other important roads. He was president of the Sioux City and Pacific railroad. He has been a director of the Union Pacific; of the Central branch of the Union Pacific of Kansas; of the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fé; of the Chicago, Iowa, and Nebraska; of the Iowa Falls and Sioux City; of the Cedar Rapids and Missouri River; of the Fremont and Elkhorn Valley; of the Hastings and Dakota; of the Atchison and Denver; of the Waterville and Washington; of the Republican Valley; of the Solomon Valley; of the Atchison, Colorado, and Pacific; of the New Orleans, Mobile, and Texas; of the Boston, Hoosac Tunnel, and Western; of the Toledo and St Louis; and of many other railroads that need not here be mentioned.

Nor have his enterprises been confined alone to railroads, but include also a number of financial and manufacturing establishments. He was president of the Brayton Petroleum Motor company, and a director in the Turner's Falls Water Power company, the Maingona Coal company of Iowa, the Missouri Valley Land company, and in many other institutions. In addition to being a director of the Commonwealth National bank of Boston, of the Easton National bank, and of the Bristol County National bank of Taunton, he is a trustee of several savings banks, and has taken an active part in the organization and working of other companies. Remarkable success had

rewarded his ventures, and with rare exceptions all of the many enterprises with which he has been identified have been exceptionally prosperous.

Reference has been made to the faithful manner in which Oliver Ames fulfilled to the utmost the slightest wish of his father. With him reverence for his father's memory is almost a religion. The most cherished purpose of his life has been and is to remove from that father's escutcheon the stain iniquitously placed upon it by men who, yielding to the intense and misdirected public excitement of which Oakes Ames was the victim, subjected him, one of the most honest and patriotic of citizens, to the vote of censure passed by congress.

In memory of their father, his three sons erected at North Easton a handsome and massive building, known as the Oakes Ames Memorial hall, which they presented to the town, and which was dedicated on November 17, 1881. In honor of the event, the legislature, which was convened in special session, adjourned early in the day, to allow the governor, the senate, and the speaker of the house, and many of the members to be present at the exercises. A special train ran from the city of Boston for the accommodation of about five hundred visitors, among whom congressmen, civic officials, bankers, merchants, railroad men, lawyers, ministers, journalists, and representatives of every other professional and industrial class in Massachusetts and in other states, manifested the reverence in which they held the memory of the political martyr, and their appreciation of his work and worth.

After the opening exercises, which were extremely simple, the building was dedicated by Oliver Ames, in the briefest of phrase, "to the use and for the benefit of the people of Easton." Speeches were made by John D. Long, governor of the state, ex-United States senator Boutwell, Edward Everett Hale, Thomas Russell, and other distinguished men, all of whom had known Oakes Ames and sincerely honored

him. The enthusiasm displayed at this meeting was honorable to the participants, while rendering a well-deserved tribute to the dead; for it showed that these men rejected the calumnies which the enemies of Oakes Ames had endeavored to cast upon his name, and that they recognized in him that which he really was—a public benefactor and a patriot.

The trustees of the Oakes Ames Memorial hall association have entire control of the property and its management, and the town may have “the full and free use of the premises, without payment of rent, for all the ordinary purposes of a town hall.”

Mr Ames has followed the example set by his father and uncle in his generous benefactions to his native town. The supervision of the building of the new school-house, presented to the town in August 1869, by Oliver Ames and sons, devolved entirely upon him. The plan of the building and the careful manner of its construction are proofs of the warm interest he has always taken in the welfare and education of the young. As trustee of the fund left by his father for the benefit of the children of the village, he has given many evidences of his deep regard for the advancement of its future citizens. Free illustrated and scientific lectures are given weekly throughout the winter months in Memorial hall, and though these are intended primarily for the entertainment and education of the children, admission is accorded to persons of maturer years. These lectures are varied with theatrical performances, with stereopticon and other exhibitions, and all are largely attended by the people of Easton. Everything possible is done by the Ames executors for the benefit of the children. In addition to lectures and exhibitions, books and apparatus have been furnished to the schools, and the teachers of industrial classes, including sewing for girls and wood-working for boys, are paid from the Oakes Ames fund, which also supports a kindergarten at North Easton. For twelve

years Oliver Ames served on the school committee, to which he was first elected in 1858; and with agricultural, historical, and other societies he has long been identified.

In March 1886 he made a proposition, which was accepted, to give \$2,000 annually for the placing of shade-trees along the highways, provided that the town appropriates yearly a poll-tax of fifty cents for the same purpose. This appropriation will add about \$500 a year to the fund contributed by Mr Ames. Trees have been planted bordering many of the streets, but it will be some years before all the highways are thus improved and beautified. Mr Ames has almost a passion for arboriculture, and on his grounds at North Easton are hundreds of trees, nearly all of them planted by his own hand, many of which are rarely seen growing in the open air in this northern latitude.

When efforts were made about the year 1850 to raise the standard of excellence in the Massachusetts militia, the Ames family took a lively interest in the movement. Oliver was commissioned second lieutenant of company B of light infantry, upon its organization under charter from Governor Boutwell, in 1852, and was subsequently chosen adjutant of the battalion, which was afterwards converted into the fourth regiment of infantry, of which at later periods he was major and lieutenant-colonel. The last-named office he resigned in July 1860, after seven years of service.

Though a town officer for many years, and chairman and treasurer of the republican town committee from the organization of the party, Mr Ames did not become fully identified with political life until 1880, and then only upon the solicitation of his fellow-townsmen, and to secure from the legislature an act of great benefit to a community in which he had a temporary home. He was then accustomed to pass the heated portion of the summer months in Cottage city, upon the beautiful island of Martha's vineyard.

The people of that village considered themselves wronged by the citizens of Edgartown, which included Cottage city within its limits. Mr Ames, naturally, sympathized with his neighbors, and he also felt a personal interest in the controversy, as he owned one of the best houses in the village. An effort to obtain a division of the town was made, and to advance this purpose a committee was appointed, of which Mr Ames was made chairman. He went before the legislature to endeavor to secure the passage of a bill for the incorporation of Cottage city, but refusing to negotiate with the lobbyists, who told him that without their aid his measure would be defeated, the bill failed of passage by a small majority. The people then proposed to send Mr Ames to the state senate. At the time this proposition was made there were several candidates for the nomination in the field; but his friends did good work for Mr Ames, and he was nominated. Here it may be mentioned that the only money which he expended in endeavoring to secure the nomination was the sum of five dollars for the payment of carriage hire for one who went to a neighboring town in his behalf.

Elected state senator for the Bristol district in 1880, during his initial legislative experience he served with marked ability, especially on the committees on railroads and education. He also secured the passage of the Cottage city incorporation bill, a measure which has contributed greatly to the permanent attractions of that delightful summer resort. Reëlected in 1881, he again served on railroad and education committees.

While a member of the Massachusetts senate, Mr Ames largely extended his acquaintance throughout the commonwealth, in all parts of which he became extremely popular. He was recognized as a strong man, both on account of his ability in general affairs and his excellent reputation in the business community. Almost as a natural consequence, therefore, when the republican state convention met in 1882 to

nominate state officers, he was chosen for the second place on the ticket, which it was felt he would greatly strengthen. Although Robert R. Bishop, who headed the ticket, was defeated by Benjamin F. Butler, the democratic nominee, Mr Ames was elected lieutenant-governor by a fair majority.

So thoroughly were the attributes which entitled Mr Ames to a foremost place in public affairs appreciated by his party and the people of the state, that he was four times in succession chosen lieutenant-governor. His services in that office were of great advantage to the commonwealth; for he brought to the performance of its duties abilities of the highest order. During this period the state freed itself of its railroad investments, selling its stock in the New York and New England Railroad company, and in the Troy and Greenfield Railroad and Hoosac tunnel. In negotiating these transactions and bringing them to a successful termination, the services of Mr Ames were especially valuable; for he was able to judge of the real worth of these properties, and of the prices at which they might be disposed of to the advantage of the community. With the public spirit which has marked his career, he so shaped the transactions that the best terms were obtained, and at the same time the state was relieved of burdens by which its people had long been oppressed.

When the republican state convention met in 1886, he received the almost unanimous vote of the delegates on the first ballot as nominee for governor of Massachusetts, and was elected by a plurality of more than eight thousand votes. Formally inaugurated in the following January, his ability and sagacity, aided by the experience he had already gained in state affairs, qualified him to guide the ship of state.

One of the pleasantest incidents in the campaign of 1886 was the demonstration in honor of Governor Ames by the employes at the shovel works at North Easton.

It occurred in the Oakes Ames Memorial hall on the 26th of October of that year. The men all knew Mr Ames to be a trained artisan as well as a large employer of labor, and his sympathies with the working classes had often been demonstrated. The meeting was entirely in the hands of the workingmen, and was one of the largest ever held at North Easton. The president of the evening was Lorenzo B. Crockett, an engineer who had spent fifteen of his thirty-two years of life at the works, and among the speakers were Congressman Long and General John L. Swift. The list of vice-presidents included the names of men who for the greater part of their career had been employed by the Ames family, Caleb Carr, who headed the list, being eighty-nine years old, the oldest man in town, and employed continuously in the shovel-works for more than two thirds of a century. He had known the candidate for the governorship when, as grimy and hard-handed as any of the hundreds of employés, he was learning his trade before the forge. There were also many others, and those among the most enthusiastic, who had been employed in the shops from twenty to fifty years. It was a remarkable exemplification of the stability of the Ames family and its institutions. A significant indication of Governor Ames' popularity with his workmen is that he is always spoken of as Oliver. They feel that, like them, he too has earned his bread by the sweat of his brow, and that his sympathies are always with them.

At this demonstration the following resolutions were adopted :

"Whereas, the honorable Oliver Ames, whom we are proud to call our townsman, neighbor, and friend, has been nominated for the office of governor of Massachusetts; therefore

"Resolved, that, as fellow-citizens with him of the town he has done so much to benefit, as, once, fellow-workmen with him at the bench where he was equal to the best in skill and in the heartiness of personal

friendship, as employés who greatly acknowledge his uniform justice and kindness in all his relations to us, we unitedly bear our testimony to the worth of his character, the fairness of his dealings, the kind fellow-feelings which he has always manifested in his bearing and conduct toward us, and which his wealth, success, and prominent position have not in the least impaired.

“Resolved, that we are proud to vote for a public-spirited citizen of Easton, whose character and conduct we know by long acquaintance to be above reproach, a temperance man in practice as well as in theory, an able business man whose clear and sound judgment is known beyond question, a man who knows what hard work is, and has a real sympathy for the trials and regard for the interests of workingmen, and who will, as we believe, faithfully, ably, and honorably fulfil the duties of the office to which he is sure to be triumphantly elected.”

Not only was Mr Ames triumphantly elected, but so satisfactory was his administration, that in the following year he was reelected by a plurality of 17,000 votes, and in 1888 the people for the third time chose him as their chief executive magistrate by a plurality of 28,000 votes. No better evidence could be given of his personal popularity, and of the confidence of the people of the state in his ability and integrity, than this continuous and silent rolling up of the franchises of his fellow-citizens. With every month of his administration he had grown stronger. He was thoroughly acquainted with the duties of his office, and with his strong common-sense and largeness of mind, duly estimated the importance of the trust reposed in him. Though an ardent partisan, in his official action as governor party affiliations had but little influence. Fitness was the first requisite demanded; and whatever his politics, if a man were not fitted for the position which he sought, he had no chance of appointment, no matter what political or personal influence he brought to bear. Mr Ames is a wonderfully accurate judge of

men; none of his important appointments have been called in question, events having fully justified his choice, and it is now generally conceded that no governor made better selections for public office. In the transaction of business he was easily approached, and though he never forgot the respect due to his position, his manner was always free from the slightest trace of assumption. He was noted for the soundness of his judgment, the quickness of his decision, and the straightforwardness of his purpose.

His opposition to and condemnation of lobbying methods in legislation were strongly shown during the first year of his administration by his veto of the notorious Beverly division bill. This was an act for the division of the town of Beverly and the incorporation of the town of Beverly Farms. It was the cause of a fierce contest in the legislature, during which charges were made that corrupt means were being used to secure the passage of the bill. Both houses appointed committees to investigate these charges, and it was found that there had been a growing demoralization in the methods pursued for the promotion of private bills and private interests before the general court, deserving the strongest condemnation and the most effective remedy. The house committee reported that these insidious influences, "however, wherever, or by whomsoever exercised, should be most emphatically and sternly condemned"; and the house by the adoption of the report adopted this decision as its own. The senate, in like manner, by the unanimous adoption of its committee's report, declared that the methods employed in the case deserved the strongest condemnation.

Notwithstanding this denunciation, the Beverly division bill was passed by both houses. Acting upon the reports of the investigating committees, Governor Ames sensibly and honestly said: "The strongest condemnation and the most effectual remedy I can apply to corrupt methods in legislation is to veto the bill."

This he did, remarking in his message: "It appears that very large sums of money, altogether disproportionate to the honest necessities of the case, have been raised and expended in the promotion and passage of the bill. I regard it as my duty to the commonwealth, and to the maintenance of a wholesome public sentiment, which shall be above suspicion, to act upon the reports made by these committees and adopted by their respective houses, and to strike emphatically at the evil thus unearthed. Not to do so is to excuse and encourage a monstrosly bad and corrupting practice." The action of the governor was warmly indorsed both by press and public.

Years ago the volume of public business became so large that the Massachusetts state house was wholly inadequate for its transaction, and numerous state officers had found quarters in various parts of the city of Boston. There had been no lack of plans for supplying the needed room, but none of them had been adopted. One reason for this hesitation and delay was the strong popular sentiment that the present state house should be maintained unchanged in its exterior proportions and finish; to do this would restrict the additional accommodation to the spot which the state government has made its home for well-nigh a century.

In his inaugural address for 1888, Governor Ames called attention to the fact that Massachusetts was expending about \$50,000 annually because of the limited capacity of its state house. "I advise," he said, "that substantial additions be made to the present structure, and that its interior be thoroughly reconstructed, so that every department of the state government can be accommodated within its walls. I urge you also to secure such lands as may be desirable for the extension of the state house." He also recommended the preservation of the present building and the erection of an addition in its rear, bridging Mt Vernon street, thus providing quarters in one building

for all the state offices, as well as for the executive and legislative departments.

Thus having announced his policy, Governor Ames pursued his plan with force and persistency, though against strong opposition, until the legislature by an overwhelming vote sustained and acted upon his recommendation, appropriating sufficient money to secure the carrying out of his design. The sum of \$600,000 was devoted to the purchase of the real estate required, and during the year this money was expended.

To the legislature of 1889 the governor presented plans, which were adopted, for the new and additional buildings, and that they might be carried into effect a further appropriation of \$2,500,000 was made. The governor established an additional claim upon the gratitude of the people by his appointment of a construction commission. By personal solicitation he secured for that purpose three of the most prominent men in Massachusetts, none of whom were politicians or candidates for office, and all of whom enjoyed in a marked degree the respect and confidence of every class in the community. These gentlemen were ex-Governor Long, who had been one of the most popular of the chief magistrates of Massachusetts; William Endicott, Junior, one of the best known and most highly esteemed of the financiers of Boston; and Benjamin D. Whitcomb, a builder whose reputation was of the first rank. The selection of these men silenced any criticism to which the plan of extending the state house might have been subjected; for as soon as their appointment was announced, it was known that the work would be done in an honest and business-like manner and within the appropriation.

Preparation for construction was begun in the latter part of the summer of 1889, and at noon on the 21st of December following the corner-stone of the addition was laid by Governor Ames. This was the last important act of his administration, and a memorable

event in the history of the state. On this occasion he made the following pertinent remarks:

"Fellow-citizens, it is nearly a hundred years since Governor Samuel Adams, assisted by grand master Paul Revere, laid upon land bought of the estate of John Hancock the corner-stone of our state house. Thus were three names illustrious in our revolutionary annals associated with this event. It was on the 4th day of July, 1795, the anniversary of the declaration of independence, and Governor Adams spoke as follows: 'Fellow-citizens, the representatives of the people in general court assembled solemnly resolved that an edifice be erected on this spot of ground for the purpose of holding the public councils of the commonwealth of Massachusetts. By the request of their agents and commissioners I do now lay the corner-stone. May the superstructure be raised even to the top stone without any untoward accident, and remain permanent as the everlasting mountains. May the principles of our excellent constitution, founded in nature and the rights of man, be ably defended here.'

"And now, fellow-citizens, in this year 1889, the representatives of the people in general court assembled did solemnly resolve that an addition should be made to the state house, in order to provide for the vastly increased volume of the business of the commonwealth. The corner-stone of that addition I now lay upon another great anniversary, that of the landing of the pilgrims. Our state house is at once a monument to the founders of the commonwealth and to the principles of freedom, education, law, and equal rights upon which they established it. May the spirit which has made the present house eloquent with patriotism pervade the extension which we now add to it, perpetuating civil and religious liberty, pure government, and honest, manly, independent citizenship."

The completed building will not only meet and supply the wants of the commonwealth: it will represent

the ideas of Governor Ames in relation to the proper accommodation, under the conditions imposed, of those to whom the people of the state intrust the conduct of their affairs; it will constitute an enduring monument to one of the wisest, most sagacious, and successful administrations Massachusetts has ever witnessed. Incorporated with the older structure, it will be a masterpiece of architecture; it will be admirably adapted for its purposes, and amply sufficient for the requirements of many years. Had it not been for the bold and forceful stand of the governor, it is probable that many years would have passed before the state reached any solution of this question.

Early in the year 1889, Governor Ames declined a renomination, nor would he consent at that time to be considered a candidate for congress. After ably filling for three years the highest office in Massachusetts, he quietly resumed his place in private life, covered with honors, possessing the confidence and esteem of the people of the commonwealth, leaving its affairs in excellent condition, and predicting for it years of yet greater prosperity. "Essentially a manufacturing state," he said, "her principal industries are in a flourishing condition. For their pursuit there is abundant capital and all the labor that is needed. This labor on the basis of profits made is well paid, and the content of the working men and women indicates that they realize and appreciate this fact. We have good reason to expect, as a community, a continuance and increase of the many and great blessings which we have so long enjoyed."

The testimony of the press, that ready mouthpiece of public opinion, upon the retirement of Governor Ames, was an emphatic approval of his official acts. "Governor Ames closes three years of service to the state as its chief executive officer to-day," said the *Boston Herald* of January 1, 1890. "He has made a good business governor. His administration has been of a character to invite little adverse criticism,

even on the part of those who had not favored his election, and the state has prospered and received a sound and sagacious administration of the governorship at his hands."

The *Boston Journal* of the same date remarked: "For three years he has held the high position of chief executive, and while the opportunity for brilliant statesmanship has not presented itself, he has administered the affairs of the state with ability. His appointments, with very few exceptions, have been up to the high average of his predecessors. In the walks of private life he will have the best wishes of a host of friends."

"Governor Oliver Ames closes to-morrow at noon his three years' administration of the affairs of the commonwealth," said the *Boston Daily Traveller* on the first day of 1890. "He has the right to congratulate himself upon three years of able and faithful service, in which he has earned the hearty approval of the people. The three years of his administration have been marked by a steady and quiet prosperity in the affairs of the people of the commonwealth; and while there has been no great exigency which has demanded extraordinary effort on the part of the chief executive, the details of executive duties have ever been onerous when faithfully and conscientiously discharged as Governor Ames has made it his ambition to discharge them. His appointments have been above adverse criticism, and his administration has been careful, painstaking, able, and marked by the display of rare business capacity. He has in every sense proved himself worthy of a place in the long list of illustrious chief executives of Massachusetts."

In connection with the announcement that Governor Ames would not be a candidate for reelection in the fall of 1889, the *Boston Evening Transcript* observed: "Governor Ames will retire from the position of chief executive magistrate of the commonwealth with the

cordial good-will of the people, who have seen in him a safe, reliable, and capable official actuated by a dominant purpose of subserving the public interests."

Like his father, Mr Ames is a true man of the people. Although possessed of great wealth, he is democratic in spirit and unostentatious in manner, taking no greater delight than in meeting those who call upon him. His liberality in the cause of everything that tends to moral, mental, and physical advancement is well known; his ability is beyond question; his integrity is above reproach; his public and private life are without stain. He is possessed of great personal magnetism, and more than most men, has the faculty of making and keeping friends. He has always been a strictly temperate man, and even in political campaigns nothing stronger than pure cold water could be found at his headquarters. He believes in practical restrictive methods in temperance reform, but does not think the sentiment of the people is yet ripe for a prohibitory law. His idea is gradually to lessen the evils of the liquor traffic by limiting the number of selling-places and increasing the cost of licenses. The liberality of his views is also shown by the fact that, in two of his messages to the legislature, he advocated a law in favor of suffrage for women in municipal affairs.

The governor has never aspired to be an orator, but he possesses the power of presenting his ideas in a clear, concise manner which, tempered with the humor that characterizes his public addresses, at once appeals to the understanding and draws forth the applause of his audience. In knowing how to keep touch with the public he possesses the secret of popularity.

The chief characteristics of Governor Ames from a business point of view are his courage, his admirable judgment of men and values, and his quickness in coming to a decision. In business operations he is extremely bold, and at the same time imperturbable

when affairs of great moment are under way. Nothing disquiets him; in moments of financial difficulty, when sudden calls are made on him, he has never failed to respond most promptly, and that without the slightest apparent disturbance of his equanimity. Knowing always exactly what he wants to find out about any project submitted to him, he goes directly to the point, and in a remarkably short time can acquire and thoroughly understand all the information to be had. Repeatedly has he displayed his remarkable faculty for grasping extensive and complex affairs with a celerity that is a little short of the marvellous. He has been known, for instance, to take home with him at night the published report of a great railroad corporation, and make so thorough a digest of it within a few hours, that the next day he could talk as well on the subject as the men who had expended weeks or months in preparing it. His intuitive knowledge of values has led him safely through many hazardous operations. He has never been accused of rashness, and in no sense can the princely fortune of which he is the possessor be attributed to the accidents of speculation. He is a very able mathematician, and has a thorough appreciation for details. His success in public life has been greatly due to his sagacity and his thorough knowledge of men. In his transactions he is absolutely frank and candid, never concealing anything. In a word, he is in all respects a man of comprehensive character, while in manner, there are none more affable, courteous, and friendly.

As was his father, Mr Ames is a unitarian in faith, though none of the members of his family are members of the church. His home life is an exceedingly happy one. He was married in Nantucket, on March 14, 1860, to Anna Coffin, daughter of Obed and Anna Ray, and adopted daughter of William Hadwen, of Nantucket. Of this union there are six children: William Hadwen, Evelyn, Anna Lee, Susan, Lillian, and Oakes Ames. The governor is fond of

society, and delights in entertaining his friends, whether at his summer home in Easton, or at his winter residence in Boston, where his hospitality is dispensed in princely fashion. He is a member of a number of scientific and historical societies and social clubs, and is also an ardent lover of art, music, and literature, his house containing many a masterpiece of painting, sculpture, engraving, and ceramics. He has been president of the Boston art club, and also president of the Merchants' club of Boston.

Finally, it may be said that Oliver Ames represents all that is best in American citizenship, and that his career is one of the most conspicuous illustrations of the possibilities open to one who commenced life in a comparatively humble sphere, and by thrift, industry, and stability of purpose worked out an honorable ambition. In such men the republic finds its strength. Citizens of sterling worth are needed to make our government possible, and when such men are found, state and nation place on them the stamp of their approval.

Mr Ames is in truth of a large-hearted race, with ideas broad enough to comprehend the needs and possibilities of a continent. The world is better; the union of these states is stronger; Massachusetts is richer in all that makes her great, and strong, and good; there is less of want, less of woe, and more of hope and courage—because the Ames family have lived.

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